

# Maclean's

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ABOUT  
ABORTION



## MEDIA WARS

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FOR POSITION AND  
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# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JULY 17, 1998 VOL. 102 NO. 29

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## COVER

## MEDIA WARS

*Experts say that fewer than a dozen giant conglomerates will soon dominate the world's print and broadcast media. Two ambitious Time-to press barons have joined in the battle for global supremacy. One is the reclusive Kenneth Thomson—Canada's wealthiest publishing magnate by far and already one of the top 10 in the world. The other is his much smaller but far more flamboyant competitor, the always outspoken Conrad Black.* —26



## WORLD

## 'A COMMON HOME'

*On a visit to France and at a meeting of the Western Part nations in Romania, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev proposed more nuclear arms reductions and promoted his vision of a European continent of peace with itself—a common home for nations free from outside interference and able to pursue policies of their own choosing.* —18



## HEALTH

## AN INFLAMED DEBATE

*In a historic judgment, the U.S. Supreme Court placed limits on its own 1973 ruling that legalized abortion. In Canada, contradictory court rulings added to the controversy, and Federal Justice Minister Douglas Lewis moved the idea that participation over abortion might become a provincial responsibility.* —36



COVER PHOTO BY JIM ADAMS/STORM PHOTO

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## LETTERS

### DISTINCT SOCIETIES

Save your money and time. There is no need to launch a historical poll to contrast Canada and America's ("Portrait of two nations," Special Report, July 30). Fred Bremner's analysis of Americans' obsession with arms accurately defines the difference between these two neighboring countries ("The right to bear [and die by] arms," An American View, June 18). A nation that equates the "right" to bear arms with freedom of speech and assembly is, ironically, very distant from ours.

Dina Nazari,  
Quebec, B.C.



Peace Arch at border; contrasts

I find it very ironic that you published Fred Bremner's article on the U.S. Constitution in the same issue that you featured the Chinese government's terror campaign in the cover story. The 1791 constitution debates on the U.S. Constitution clearly show that the delegates entered on the Second Continental Congress in the light of the people to keep and bear arms so prevent the government from imposing the same kind of tyranny that the Chinese government is now exposing. I have no doubt that many of the students in Tiananmen Square on the night of June 3-5 wished they had something more than their bare hands when their fellow students were being murdered by the government.

Nora Mathews,  
Melville, Ont.

### PUBLISHING PROFITS

In her column "Cleaning the book on government" (June 12), Diane Francis champions Rowell Bessie's Canada Publishing Corp. Review is quoted as saying that the company, Acorn Papyrus's (Dorland Canada Ltd.) and General Publishing are all examples of successful Canadian companies. Nowhere does the reviewer state that Papyrus and General Publishing owe their present success to a large measure in the Conservative government's free Canadian publishing policy, which aims in part to increase Canadian ownership of tradebook publishing—now approximately 85 per cent of the English-language market. Papyrus also complains that it is the literary and smaller publishers who benefit from government assistance, but she neglected to mention that Canada Publishing Corp. was one of the largest recipients of federal book publishing grants in 1989 with more than \$400,000, and that the company has enjoyed that distinction for many years: since 1955, CFC has collected in excess of \$2 million from the public purse.

Mervin Connors,  
Executive Director,  
Association of Canadian Publishers  
Toronto

the Prince Edward Island delegates supported Chretien in 1984, at least as the first ballot. My husband was a delegate at that time, but we have always needed discerning our political preferences.

Constance M. Inge,  
Montreal, P.E.I.

### MIRROR IMAGE

In the People section on June 5, your photograph of Paul McCartney was reversed, showing him playing right-handed ("Coming back") I thought the appearance of a wedding band on his right hand or the backward signature on his guitar would have given it away.

Eric Williams,  
Toronto

### CRUEL KILLING

I do not like the killing of the whales. It is very cruel, and it should stop.

Ryan Gallagher,  
Winnipeg

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should send two copies. Address and telephone number. Most programs have a closing date. Please check the magazine, Atlantic Canada, July, 777 King St. Toronto, Ont. M5G 1K7.

### WRONG DELEGATE

The article "Ready to run" (Canada, June 26) states that I voted for Jean Chretien at the 1984 federal election. I am sorry to say that, in fact, I was not a delegate at that convention. My understanding is that most of

## PASSAGES

**1989:** Andrei Gromyko, 79, the Soviet Union's longtime foreign minister who survived several leadership changes until his ouster by Mikhail Gorbachev, following vascular surgery, in Moscow. Known for his close master and as Mr. Nyet for the numerous vetoes he cast as Moscow's first UN ambassador, Gromyko served Josef Stalin and his five successors, and dealt with every U.S. president from Franklin Roosevelt to Ronald Reagan. His unprecedented 45-year tenure as minister—from 1957 to 1985—put him at the center of the ebb and flows of the Cold War. Shortly after new-look Gorbachev far kinder to Mr. Nyet, Gromyko took on the monumental post of president.



**GRANTED:** To become external affairs minister Piers MacDonnell, 63, a man to visit Namibia by South Africa, which had earlier rejected his application. MacDonnell, now a private citizen, is to help initiate the process as the former South African colony's transition to independence next year.

**1989:** James Kiefer, 71, the former Hungarian Communist party leader who came to power after he helped the Soviet Union crush the short-lived uprising of 1956, of cardiovascular disease, in a Budapest hospital. Kiefer, who gradually became known as a reformer, ruled for 32 years until he was deposed in 1956 by current activist leader Kenedy Gyorgy.

**1989:** Actor Jim Backus, 76, whose gravelly voice gave life to the apocryphal cartoon

character Mr. Mouse and who played millionaire Thornton Howard III on television's *Gilligan's Island* of penance in a Santa Monica, Calif., hospital.

**1989:** Once-winning director Franklin Schaffner, 69, whose *Pallone* was best picture of 1976, of cancer, at his home in Santa Monica, Calif.

**1989:** Nobel Peace-winning author Alexander Solzhenitsyn, 70, to the Union of Soviet Writers, which expelled him 28 years ago. The official book revoked the expulsion because it violated "the principle of academic discovery." The winner of *Guinea Ward*, *The First Circle* and *The Gulag Archipelago*, none of which have been published in the Soviet Union, now lives in exile in Cavendish, Vt.

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# NEC



# OPENING NOTES

Marlon Brando throws his weight about, computers help Moscow's lovelorn, and New Brunswick seeks a new image

## FRICION AT THE TOP

Despite a regal bearing that makes Jeanne Sevré appear perfectly cast for her role, key Conservatives in Ottawa—including some cabinet ministers—are not big fans of the Governor General. According to Tory insiders, the Governor General's penchant for foreign travel is one source of the cool relations between her and the ministers. They note that Sevré has made four trips abroad during the past six months alone—to Uruguay, Brazil, Japan and Spain. In response, Sevré's editors note that, in doing so, their boss is simply answering invitations that were issued to Canada's head of state. But the Tories are equally critical of Sevré's movements within Canada: they say that the rarely strays outside the Toronto-Ottawa-Montreal axis. In any event, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has not named a successor to Sevré and he agreed to her request to extend her five-year term in office until January. At that time, Mulroney will likely have accomplished one task for 1990: naming a new governor general.

Sevré, Mulroney: perfectly cast, but cool with key Tories



SEVRÉ

## Out of bounds to ordinary citizens

On the eve of the 200th anniversary of the storming of the Bastille on July 14, many Canadians are questioning the lack of liberty, equality and fraternity in some bicentenary celebration plans. Indeed, as Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, President George Bush and five other two-world leaders prepared for their annual economic summit, government spokesmen said that one of Paris's most popular attractions—the Louvre museum—would be closed to the public for part of this week. That will allow the politicians to tour the museum in the same fashion as France's aristocratic elite, privately.



Gorbachev (left), Yeltsin raised eyebrows and a dressing down in fashion circles

## DRESSING DOWN IN WASHINGTON

His decision to wear a blue business suit to a White House dinner in 1987 raised eyebrows on both fashion and political circles. And Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's cool reception of Washington's dress code has now been followed by one influential figure in the U.S. capital: Indian, Senate president pro tem Robert Byrd's refusal to don formal wear at black-tie events during the past year has sparked protests from the International Furriers' Association, a worldwide Chicago-based occupation representing

haute-couture and sales stores. In a recent letter to Byrd, association president Gary Ross warned the senator that his national taste "represented an entire industry." Ross went on to suggest that Byrd's discomfort with black tie was perhaps due "to the occasion rather than the dress." Responded Byrd, a veteran of countless formal events in Washington: "One who does not enjoy the wearing of the tuxedo ought not to feel that he must. I do not." Byrd is a politician who prefers to suit himself.

## FROM RUSSIA WITH COMPUTERIZED LOVE

Mikhail Gorbachev has opened up the Soviet economy by allowing private enterprise, and in Moscow some ventures have responded by establishing a computerized venture for the lovelorn: a commercial matchmaking service. Indeed, extensive local press coverage has helped the new agency, called Parovik (Intermediary), to open files containing the personal histories and interests of about 3,000 clients—45 per cent of them women. Parovik charges its clients a fee of \$42 to conduct regular computer matchups of prospective mates, and agency co-owner Igor Karavayev said that he had received 100 messages from eligible singles to his service—no mean feat for someone who can operate his new dating equipment.

## Cuban contraband

They have been a forbidden luxury for American smokers since the United States placed an embargo on Cuban imports



Castro smokes a Havana

In 1962, still, Havana cigars from Fidel Castro's island have remained popular with U.S. smokers. Indeed, U.S. customs officials estimate that Americans bought more than \$23 million worth of the stogies last year. And, said one official, "a great many" of those came through Canada, where Cuban goods are legal fare. Refused duty known as borders.

## Sharing the screen with lizards

Actor Marlon Brando was in Toronto last week when he was playing a gangster in *Prohibido*, a comedy that revolves around

sewer-basement lizard. Brando's film portrayal of a Mafia boss in *The Godfather* seemed less stressful.



BRANDO

Brando goes smuggling, reptiles and ice skates

## ON THE ROAD TO SUCCESS

For many tourists, New Brunswick is only a way station on the road to the more aggressively marketed attractions of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. But New Brunswick is now striving to sell itself as a destination in its own right. To that end, the province has hired Lippincott & Margulies, the New York City consultants who created the red-and-white swirl of Coca-Cola's current logo. The goal, said one provincial official, is to erase the impression "that there is not much here." Try the smooth taste of new New Brunswick.



CHEN

Montreal clock: looking down hurried street ads

## Signs of controversy

Mayor Jean Duroé is engaged in a campaign in Montreal—a campaign to tear down kind street ads for strip clubs that critics say degrade women. Said lawyer Marie-Odile Trépanier: "There are signs of naked women there anyway." For his part, Maurice Lévesque, a 56-year-old businessman who owns two downtown strip bars, said his crews installed the signs for one reason: to attract customers. Added Lévesque: "Personally, I think the clubs overdo it. The names of the places all have the word 'sex' in them. It got out of hand." Still, legal experts say that the city will have difficulty drafting a bylaw that does not violate the club owners' freedom of expression under section 2(b) of the federal charter of rights—unless the Quebec government, which issued the charter's notwithstanding clause to ban English from outdoor signs.



Host, David Suzuki

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## AN AMERICAN VIEW



## Bush as Batman? Wait for the sequel

BY FRED BRUNING

If we take America as Gotham City, who shall play Batman? The fellow would have to be especially brave, successful and, for because there are angry battling times. Just think, we have all spills off the shores of Alaska, Delaware and Rhode Island. Although gambling charges have not been resolved, Pete Rose—good old Charlie Hustle—yet could find himself managing a softball team somewhere in the federal prison system. The Supreme Court recently found nothing notable about executing 16-year-olds, nor, for that matter, about denouncing some of the nation's most necessary civil rights legislation, including laws pertaining to affirmative action. And the President, to bow to the needs of Bush, has proposed a constitutional amendment making flag-burning illegal because, as he says, dissent is all right unless you push it too far.

As further laws, the hero of the big-budget film now coming with a size in a peculiarly different dimension—likely enough but looking in for real flesh in that case, one might say well, why not let Bush, the President, play Batman? The chief executive's approach is an acquaintance that he lately recalled China for warring against direct white, on the other hand, he is rapidly disappearing from the map to El Salvador, where the neo-conservative met with Roberto D'Alema, the ruthless enforcer widely believed to control right-wing death squads. Talk about movie. Maybe President Bush is our go-to guy, after all, and, worse to think wouldn't you? Can make a real Bush? Wondering about in tights and tights, the neo-conservative would never again leave behind, about being pressed into active military service.

But, too late, George Bush really won't make the grade this time around. Like Bruce Wayne, he may possess the personal dedication to secrecy in the Batman role, but Bush is lacking in the crucial area of depth perception. He does not come equipped with the requisite sense, the street smarts, the ability to recognize that Gotham is not in a state of grace but of chaos. Too often, the President's view seems adorned by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Republican National Committee. Bush is not so easily fooled.

Hillman's Bush is a little more meditative than necessary—a late-century allegory that would list the purposes of predators or politicians or anyone suggesting that evil must necessarily succumb to adversity. Despite the triumphal concluding sequence in which Jack Nicholson as the Joker is trampled under the audience leaves well that trouble comes ahead for Gotham and the Caped Crusader and, in fact, always will. What else prompts the movie's unrelentingly fatal violence in which Batman, peevish enough for Gotham's state, contemplates his gloomy doom—not to mention his own prospects? The poor fellow hardly is ecstatic about his job, you see, and, despite the order and persistence of Alan Bateman, who can blame him? If one man is disappointed he has good reason. He has seen the future and is reasonably sure it doesn't work.

The Gotham he perceives is a blocked and stunted place, after all, shadowy and cavernous, a hybrid fantasy of prison design and high-tech accessories. The city room of a major newspaper

*And dressed as Robin in a tutu and tights, Dan Quayle would not have to fret about being pressed into active military service*

looks like a hallway from *The Front Page*, although a writer covering the Batman story conducts interviews with a microphone recorder. The Bush movie might have been covered by Henry Ford when under the influence of perverts, and Batman himself is an odd amalgam of reality and illusion, a fellow whose wardrobe includes a modified chest plate as essential to his physique as his outfit is to his proper business.

And who are the demons of this fair city? Corrupt police and manipulative politicians and back-alley hoodlums and the sleazy rages of organized crime. The Joker nearly achieves respectability with his bling bling, but he is grossly inept, clumsy, the playboy, the playboy with which he wants and murders. He is the tell-tale thrill-seeker boy of the century, a somewhat 180-per-cent caricature of his prime cause, a proud and accomplished underdog as shown as he is psychopaths. "I am," proclaims the Joker, "the world's first fully functioning homicidal artist."

Given the superbly depicted atmosphere he creates, director Tim Burton could have done far more with the film. There isn't much psychological wallop—explanations for the Joker's elements and the Joker's notoriety are less and less—the story line is easily satisfying. But the movie succeeds because it is a brooding and cynical piece, a piece born of savvy and suspicion, a film that offers exactly the perspective necessary after eight years of trust: "good news" from the Gipper and six months of George Bush, a leader who sooner would bestride the Bill of Rights than the American flag.

Indeed, if Donald Reagan and his successor were to have collected Batman, one suspects the result would have been a bright and breezy musical about an actor who plays like Richard Gere. The Joker would not have been a warped villain but accurate translator of the local American Civil Liberties Union, and Batman would have spent his time heading off traffic citations and appearing at Republican fund-raising events. Their virtues would have provided a stark scene showing ironic citizens scrambling for the Joker's goodie-bags—as degradation in a supply-side economy, remember—or a plot that includes the sinister exploitation of the American consumer.

But enough. Who was the last part in our own little production? David Latoriano deserves consideration, as he is important and accustomed to working at night. Mario Cuomo, the governor of New York state, has the left and right-hand, and Kevin Mitchell, leading the charges to lower rates, the statistics. Mike Hollman and Thomas Jefferson would be terrible as Batman for eleven reasons but, sadly, neither is available. Finally, though, we may have to expand our search beyond Gotham. In that event, no better candidate may be found than the anonymous contributor in Times-Square who sold a reporter during the spring's upturn: "I don't know exactly what democracy is, but we need more of it." Holy logosquash! Grant that splendid individual anyone—and arrange a fitting for the cape.

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## SINS OF THE FLESH

ANGER AND SHAME  
GRIP THE ROMAN  
CATHOLIC CHURCH  
IN SCANDALS THAT  
INVOLVE PRIESTS  
AND SEX CRIMES

**T**here was an audible gulp as the young men at the microphone listed the ways in which children could be sexually abused. Addressing a panel of three men and two women seated on the raised wooden stage before him, Kurt Amey, a St. John's, Nfld.-based spokesman for Victims of Violence, an organization that publicizes the plight of victims of a range of violent acts, used words such as "anal penetration" and "sodomy." They were topics that few of the 250 people attending a church inquiry in the dim atmosphere of St. John's Holy Heart of Mary Catholic High School had ever wanted to hear. The list of indecent acts, however, was a blunt reminder of the shocking reality that the rubric and the panel alike were trying to deal with: for years, Roman Catholic priests and other church workers in Newfoundland generally had repeatedly abused dozens of children, most of them young boys, many of them orphaned in the care of their attackers. Last week, many Newfoundlanders had come to the meeting organized by the Catholic Church—where they had to force others to find elsewhere in the province last week—to find out why, and how, their trust had been betrayed by men to whom they had entrusted their souls.

Although it has been 35 months since police charged a 35-year-old priest, James Healey, with 29 counts of gross indecency and sexual assault at the time of a series of scandal revelations of sexual abuse, many Newfoundlanders remain openly shocked, angry and profoundly hurt. The diocesan and subsequent police charges against 16 more individuals affiliated with the Catholic Church have spawned two inquiries—one set up by the St. John's Catholic diocese and another begun by the provincial police department—which are likely to find those accused for months to come. In fact,



Mokey: when 'the person you trust the most' turns into an assailant

religious leaders are not alone in being accused of sexual abuse: annual assault reports of all types in Newfoundland more than doubled between 1987 and 1988, reaching 387 cases last year. But it is the scandal limited to Newfoundland, at least one more case of sexual abuse of children by Catholic clergymen have turned up elsewhere in Canada, and more than 20 in the United States.

Among many Catholics, the scandal has raised acutely disturbing questions. Some ask what the church itself—with its demerol-like lifestyle for priests, and other acts as well—has exacerbated the problem. Others say that the scandal directly challenges clerical authority. Acknowledged Kevin Mac-

key, the church's Newfoundland spokesman: "If the person you trust the most hurts you like this, how else you trust anyone?"

The scandal has topped local newspapers in Newfoundland, as well as being the favorite topic of op-ed-style radio shows and letters to the editor for months. It has even generated a stringing new breed of "Newfie priest" jokes that, for the most part, the public recognizes have reflected a bitter anger against the church—and a profound sense of spiritual disillusionment. Declared Elise Power, 32, a parishioner at St. Mary's Basil, southwest of St. John's: "I'm so fed up through the notions of going to church. But we certainly don't trust our priests."

Newfoundland, however, has not had to face the embarrassment alone. Similar charges of sexual aberrations involving Catholic priests and children have surfaced recently in several other provinces.

In May Harold McIntire, a 56-year-old Ontario priest from Williams Lake, B.C., pleaded guilty to 77 charges of sexually assaulting young boys at Catholic schools or parishes over a 30-year period.

A few months prior in Scarborough, Ont., charged Angus Alexander MacRae, a 62-year-old priest, with molesting a young teenage boy over 16 months in 1985 and 1986.

A day last month, Edmonton's Court of Queen's Bench sentenced Antoine Tette, a 59-year-old priest who assaulted five girls and a boy over the past seven of his 25

years in a 1973 Earl, now 22, wrote \$2 million for suffering that he says he endured at the 60-year-old accusation, which is run by a small religious order, the Christian Brothers, who practice celibacy but are not ordained priests.

"I missed 15 years of my life," Earl said. The church has refused to comment on the suit.

Certainly, it is not the numbers alone that caused such shock, but also the high regard in which the accused men had previously been held. Rev. Hickey, convicted last year of 29 counts of gross indecency and sexual assault committed mainly against altar boys over a 17-year period, was one of St. John's leading parish priests. Hickey, in turn serving a five-year sentence in the penitentiary at Buxtonville, N.B.

Last January, another priest, John Corrigan,



Mount Cashel Orphanage: a civil law suit alleging beatings and sexual abuse

years as a cleric, to a two-year term at a psychiatric facility.

Still, the spreading scandal was not the first of its kind to hit the church in North America. Four years ago, Louisiana priest Gilbert Goheen was convicted on 11 counts of sexually abusing children. That case, which sent shock waves throughout the Catholic hierarchy, was only the most publicized of 21 in Goheen's diocese. And James Berry, a New Orleans-based priest who was charged to break the story, says that there are telling similarities between the Louisiana and Newfoundland parishes: "They're both based on love, both and family," Berry said.

Another element in the Louisiana case also has echoes in Canada. Berry estimates that the Louisiana diocese where most of the assaults occurred has paid out to \$15 million in compensation to victims and their families, while another \$60 million is expected in Canada. Since Earl has launched the first civil suit against several members of an order of Catholic brothers and the church itself, Earl alleges that he was beaten and sexually abused after he entered the Mount Cashel Orphanage in St.

John's, was sentenced to five years in prison for assaulting altar boys over a period of seven years. Since then, every month has produced at least one more story of accusations leveled against a priest or lay Catholic, leaving Newfoundlanders reeling. Until a year ago, St. Mary's Bay parishioner Power noted, "a priest could be doing wrong." But the waves of revelations of the last year, she acknowledged, "has shaken us on that."

For many of the parishioners who have appeared before the church's inquiry, the distrust attaches to senior clerics as well. A common theme of that distrust has been St. John's Archbishop Augustine Peacey, 64, whose some angry parishioners have accused of ignoring potential rumors about child abuse during the 1970s. At public meetings, individuals and groups ranging from the Knights of Columbus to local parent-teacher associations have demanded that Peacey step down as head of the province's 285,000 Catholics—the province's largest denomination. Last week, St. John's parishioner David English told the panel that at every mass he puts a letter into his collection envelope demanding Peacey's resign-

## National Notes

## A NAME CLEARED

Electoral Canada said that Liberal MP James Peterson, brother of Ontario premier David Peterson, did not break campaign spending rules when he did not report discounts that he received on his meals and a Toronto hotel stay during the 1988 election campaign. Peterson, who was released as a newspaper report two weeks ago.

## DUE ON THE LINES

The Ontario Citizens reported that executives of Via Rail propose to lay off half of its 1,000 employees and slash 115 regional train services, as well as the 164-year-old daily Canadian, which runs between Montreal and Toronto and Vancouver—in order to make savings ordered in the April federal budget.

## WHERE WAS THIEF?

Gulap Canada Inc. reported that barely one-half of Canadian voters could know where Ottawa is. Power said that half knew where Toronto is, according to a national survey, which also found that 43 per cent of Canadians were unable to locate half of a list of 12 major Canadian cities. Canadians had the most difficulty placing St. John's, 71 per cent did not know where to find the Newfoundland capital.

## A 13-YEAR-OLD SUSPECT

Police in Winnipeg charged a 13-year-old boy with two counts of murder after an informant apparently sent a mail, among per dose to enter the house of Chelidon Linda Shuman, 59, and her 86-year-old mother, Kyo Shuman, and fatally stabbed both women on June 30.

## THE STAIR SAGA

High Justice, Ontario's public trustee, said that Liberal MP member Patricia Starr had made more than \$150,000—about twice as much as previously disclosed—in unreported payments generously in political and judicial matters from National Council of Jewish Women (Toronto section) charitable funds during her four years as president. Meanwhile, Ontario Court of Appeal Justice Lloyd Stollman was named to head an inquiry into the Starr affair. He said that public hearings will likely begin in September.

## SIGNING OFF THE CBC

CBC general directors recommended that the corporation abandon its international broadcast arm, drop the Parliamentary Channel and other international services on the nightly national news to bring to the federal government's target of \$300 million in savings over the next five years.



series. "What he comes to the altar, I will not," English-declared Broun, who represented the members of the church's inquiry, last returned resolutely silent about the growing force. But in June, church spokesman Malloy said that the archbishop would have to be "guilty of some kind of criminal act" or some-

thing the Catholic Church that caused her to leave the church in Newfoundland. For many Catholics, use of the most disturbing implications is the suggestion that sexual abuse is not a new phenomenon for the church. As one woman told an earlier parish meeting last month, "I think it always went on. It was simply covered

up." The writer inquiry has suggested that priests should be allowed to marry. Malloy, like most Catholic authorities, questions the link between celibacy and pedophilia. "Celibacy is not a cure, and these people are involved with deviant behavior," he said. But in St. John's, Archbishop Joseph MacNeil said that celibacy could be a factor in some cases. Commenting on MacNeil, "To ignore it would be stupid."

Questions have also been raised about the church's methods of recruiting and screening candidates for the priesthood. MacNeil said that the procedures are being reviewed. "We want to make sure we have a healthy young man, that there aren't any tendencies or attitudes a priest ought not to have." Already, MacNeil said, all new recruits to the priesthood undergo psychological testing and background checks when they apply, and "about 50 per cent of them don't get past this level."

In the small, close-knit rural communities of Newfoundland, where many of the abuses occurred, there is another dimension to the problem. Psychologist and sex abuse expert William Marshall, a professor at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., who has studied the province's sexual abuse on several church, police and criminal groups, said, "The system here has to do with the power of priests in smaller communities." In Newfoundland, he observed, "the community just adds to the authority." In some places, he said, "the priest is the God—there is nothing wrong with him, it's the devil in the priest." Marshall criticized how Archbishop MacNeil has limited the situation, argued the church to limit the authority granted to parish priests.

Still, whatever the effect of the scandal on the church, it is the victims of abuse who elect the governing assembly. Indeed, Marshall predicts that, for the children, their families and for many communities, the emotional suffering will take years to fade. Many victims will lose their faith, he added, and they "may have difficulties with respect to their own sexuality—they will blame themselves." In fact, one victim's mother cried: "My son used to sit at the kitchen table and cry and he would say, 'There is only one way out—to commit suicide.' He was only 13."

By the time last week's meeting in St. John's ended, several other themes continued. It was clear how close the scandal had already come to the church. Said one disillusioned mother, speaking of her three sons, "They won't become altar boys. I won't put my sons in jeopardy." It was a fear few Newfoundlanders—or Catholics—had ever expected to associate with the sanctities of their faith.

GRIG W. TAYLOR with JAMES HOLLIF  
in Florence, GLEN ALLEN in St. John's  
and BESSIE HUNTER in St. John's



Jaggy parishists (left to right) John Scott, Joseph MacNeil, William Marshall

thing "against the values of the church" to warrant his dismissal.

Both possibilities, in fact, are to be examined over the coming months as the two inquiries into the scandal proceed. While the archbishop's inquiry—headed by Anglican and former Newfoundland lieutenant-governor Gordon Winter—examines the church's role in the affair, it is the provincial commission, headed by retired Ontario judge Simon Hughes, that is to try to find out how the abuse could have continued so long without criminal prosecutions. Among those expected to testify before Hughes is Alice Hickman,

Pennock resolutely silent



chief justice of the Newfoundland Supreme Court who was minister of justice in Newfoundland in the early 1980s when several of the abuses occurred. Ironically, Hickman herself became an inquiry in Nova Scotia into why Daniel Marshall, a Maricopa Indian, was jailed for 11 years for a murder he did not commit. That inquiry has already raised questions about the implications for Nova Scotia's justice system, and some observers suggest that the same thing might happen in Newfoundland with the Hughes inquiry.

Winter's investigation, too, could reveal problems

up. Indeed, Malloy said that several men have told him that they too had been abused years ago but they had been afraid to report it. "I suspect if the first person hadn't come forward," he observed last week.

But, notes journalist Berry, who is writing a book about sexuality and clerical celibacy, "the pattern in the past has been for the church to keep victims and their families at arm's length by promising that the offending priest would be dealt with." Instead of disciplining the offenders, however, Berry claims that the church at most cases merely moved them out of sight, often to another parish where they sometimes committed new offenses. Said Berry: "It was only after charges were laid and lawsuits started that the church was forced to look at the problem."

For the Catholic establishment, the latest scandal seems certain to deepen fissures over the future direction of the church. "It's the Catholic Church's Wazoo-gate," said Berry. Certainly, the current crisis has shaken the foundations of several central elements of Catholic tradition. The most common charge is that the church's insistence on celibacy for priests increases sexual frustration. Several scientists at

# ANNOUNCING

## Maclean's

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1) Photographs may be on film or black and white or color—no slides.

2) All entries must be received by September 15, 1989, and your name, address, and a telephone number must be printed on the back of each photograph.

3) Entries will be sent to the contest.

4) All winning entries must be available for photography showing (except for prizes).

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6) The prizes of Maclean's Fourth National Photo Contest are: Pentax Canada Inc., Ryerson Polytechnical Institute and Kodak Canada Inc. will be judged by representatives of Ryerson Polytechnical Institute and Kodak.

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Prizes will be awarded to the winners who are 18 and only to amateur photographers. What the selection of the winners will be based on is not the possibility of winning, but the creative talent of the photographer.

Prizes will be awarded to the winners who are 18 and only to amateur photographers. What the selection of the winners will be based on is not the possibility of winning, but the creative talent of the photographer.

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## Too fast at the turn

*A promising politician rides into trouble*

**B**ernard Valcourt's love of motorcycles was well-known among his constituents in northwestern New Brunswick's Miramichi Valley riding. But at 3:58 a.m. on July 4, that love resulted in disaster when the 37-year-old federal member and corporate affairs minister, riding his 1,160-cc Yamaha Midnight Maxx, crashed through a fence near Edmundston, N.B. Valcourt, who sustained a concussion as well as breaking his nose, dislocated his bones in his forehead, was flown to a Quebec City hospital. By week's end, he had undergone surgery to reconstruct

side whether to lay any charges against Valcourt. But after the accident, Tarnay Golla, a waitress at the Warden bar in Miramichi, N.B., across the border from Edmundston, had this on the night of the accident: Valcourt had had two drinks in the bar during the early evening. According to Golla, who lives in Edmundston, Valcourt then left, and returned much later when he ordered a third drink, which he did not finish.

Still, she added that Valcourt had not appeared to be drunk. And admission of the motorcycle accident, an *Acadian* who is the only over-

Quebec francophone in the Tory caucus, were quick to issue to his defence. "I don't think the main thing is whether he had a drink or whether he tried to escape the police," said Michel Desautel, an editor at New Brunswick's French-language daily newspaper *L'Acadie Nouvelle*. "The main thing is that he is safe. Valcourt is a very important minister for New Brunswick and Acadia."

Indeed, Valcourt is closely held in high esteem by both federal and New Brunswick Tories. First elected to the House of Commons in the Conservative landslide of 1984, he held junior cabinet positions during the Mulroney government's first term in office. Then, as a cabinet shuffle last January, Valcourt received a substantial



Valcourt: a 2:30 a.m. jaunt on a Midnight Maxx

has damaged face and, although he was not yet able to talk, doctors pronounced him out of danger. Still, questions over the circumstances of Valcourt's accident remained. Edmundston police initially said that the accident resulted from a high-speed chase after they had observed a motorcycle zigzagging in the road and attempted to pull him over. Later, they said that events had happened too quickly for a chase to occur. But deputy police Chief Delbert Pelletier said reporters, "Just let's say that he was observed not travelling in a straight line."

Late last week, police obtained a search warrant to take a blood sample from the Edmundston hospital where Valcourt was first treated before being flown to Quebec City, although they refused to say whether they had yet tested it for alcohol content. Edmundston police also said that they expected to complete their investigation of the accident early this week, after which Crown prosecutors will de-

termine if a charge is warranted. The Prince Maurice elected him to the consumer and corporate affairs portfolio—said to be the powerful position and planning committee of cabinet. Saul Harry Nott, operations director of the Tories' 1988 campaign, "He has great political sense. He is one of those people who can tell how we are doing out there. You can't teach that."

In New Brunswick, Valcourt is widely seen as a potential future provincial Tory leader with the popular appeal to lead the party back to power after it lost all of the province's 58 ridings to Frank McKenna's Liberals in the 1987 election. "He is probably the brightest light for us in New Brunswick," said Lyle Currier, vice-president of the provincial Conservatives. Currier and other Tories can only hope that that light will not be dimmed as a result of last week's accident.

PHILIP KOPPELBERG with EUGENE WEISS  
in Miramichi and JEAN CLARE in Ottawa

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CANADA

## Revisiting Meech Lake

Support grows for a parallel accord

Until recently, they were lone voices arguing that the accord reached at Meech Lake in June 1987, was too flawed to ratify. But, in recent weeks, New Brunswick Liberal Premier Frank McKenna and Manitoba Conservative Gary Filmon have

levelled unexpected attacks. In April, Liberal Clyde Wells swept into office in New Brunswick, declaring his intention to succeed that province's support of the deal—which Wells's predecessor, Brian Peckford, had signed. Within a month of Wells's election, Premier John Gair threatened to withdraw his backing for the accord in protest against McKenna's desire of the armed forces base at Summerside. Next, at last month's conference of the four western premiers in Glenora, Alta., Saskatchewan's Grant Devine and British Columbia's Wilson Vander Zanden both expressed reservations about the agreement. Then, last week, senior agitator, Nova Scotia's Conservative Premier John Buchanan, said that he would accept a companion agreement to Meech Lake designed to allay the concerns of the dissidents. Declared Buchanan: "I have no difficulty whatsoever with a so-called parallel accord." That left only Ontario, Quebec and Alberta firmly united with Ottawa in support of the existing accord—which must be ratified by all 10 provinces before it becomes part of Canada's Constitution.

The notion of a "parallel accord" has clearly gained currency since McKenna's office first suggested it in private meetings with other provinces late last year. The proposal would permit the inclusion in the Constitution of new wording—addressing both McKenna's and Filmon's concerns over what they view as shortcomings in Meech Lake, notably its uncertain protection of minority rights—while not impeding the existing accord. That will be of central importance if the parallel accord is to take political

flight. For his part, Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa has warned that separatist sentiment may erupt once again at Meech Lake—which would renege Quebec as a distinct society within Canada—is not ratified there. And last week while signalling his support of a parallel pact, Buchanan also noted, "I would never agree to change the present accord."

For its part, the federal government has rejected a parallel deal and delivered key formal constitutional discussions. Last week, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney announced that a meeting of first ministers to discuss Meech Lake, scheduled for September, would be postponed until November. Mulroney said that there would be "little utility" in an earlier meeting. Nor in November the agenda of the second premiers' meeting scheduled for August in Quebec City.

Indeed, by then, Quebec Premier Bourassa may well be preoccupied with his campaign to win a second consecutive mandate in a provincial election that he has said is likely to be in October. And with growing numbers of Quebecers rejecting ratification of the present accord with acceptance of that provision by the rest of Canada, that campaign is unlikely to offer a fruitful setting for compromise. At the same time, New Brunswick's McKenna has said that a legislative committee studying the accord will not present its report until the fall.

Still, Nova Scotia's Buchanan has said that he may force the issue into the Quebec agenda. And last week, Wells's Zanden threatened to reintroduce the accord in the B.C. legislature in order to resolve one of his concerns that

Quebec may receive special privileges under the accord not addressed. Clearly, there remained plenty of room for further unexpected twists on the road toward constitutional agreement.

TERESA TEDESCO in Ottawa



Bourassa: first the vote



Buchanan: a second pact

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*Nurses on strike in Vancouver: 'Fed up with being treated like servants'*

## Temperature rising

*Frustration spreads among Canada's nurses*

Only a month ago, Patricia Savage and Delora McPherson were allies in an assistant-nurse strike by British Columbia nurses to win better pay and working conditions. But last week, the two women were building each other—and their fight provided a graphic illustration of the growing unrest among Canada's 362,000 nurses. Savage, the 33-year-old president of the B.C. Nurses Union, set off on a nationwide tour to urge her 17,800 members to reject a tentative contract with B.C.'s Health Labour Relations Board. Meanwhile, McPherson, the union's Vancouver regional chairman, campaigned just as forcefully against the agreement, arguing that Savage and others on the union bargaining team had given in to provincial government pressure. Their dispute threatened to create a permanent rift in one of the country's strongest and most militant nursing unions—at a time when nurses throughout Canada are becoming increasingly vocal in their demands for improved salaries and a greater say in the health-care system.

The outcome of the B.C. nurses' dispute should be known by July 12, when union members vote on whether to accept, or reject, an agreement that provides a 20.5-per-cent pay increase over three years. The nurses had sought a 33-per-cent increase over one year, but agreed that to 30 per cent before walking off the job at 80 hospitals for 17 days in June. In Quebec, meanwhile, 46,800 unrepresented nurses

were locked in a similar dispute over pay and working conditions with the province's Liberal government. Three weeks ago, the Quebec Nurses Federation reached a tentative agreement providing increases of between 36.2 per cent and 36.7 per cent over three years. But since then, 76 per cent of the federation's rank and file have voted to reject the deal, arguing President Robert Desrosiers is the man-up-to-an-anticipated election and setting the stage for a possible illegal strike by nurses that could come in the fall.

The current disputes are symptomatic of the growing militancy among Canadian nurses. At the heart of the issue are the hourly wages for an experienced general duty nurse—ranging from \$25.99 in Prince Edward Island to \$19.05 in Ontario, with slightly higher rates of

chief executive officers of the 60,000-member Ontario Nurses Association. "Nurses are fed up with being treated like subordinate servants by heavy-handed employers. They want a decent salary and if they do not get it, they will look for other careers."

Likewise, many parts of the country are already experiencing nursing shortages. British Columbia now has 573 vacancies for staff nursing positions, according to the B.C. Registered Nurses Association. "We are not educating a sufficient number of nurses," said John Cox, a spokesman for the association. "The result is a constant strain on those working, and indeed on the patients." And a recent study in Ontario found that 34 per cent of the province's nursing jobs were

filled. The shortage was most acute in Metropolitan Toronto, where hospitals are unable to fill 7.1 per cent of nursing vacancies. "So many nurses are leaving the profession after about seven years," said Eleanor Caplan, the province's health minister. "A lot of hospitals have started to recruit nurses from outside Ontario, but that still does not deal with the long-term issues that are at the root of nurses' frustration."

The most common complaint is that nurses are inadequately paid in relation to their responsibilities. Delora McPherson, 37, a nurse at Vancouver General Hospital who has helped to spearhead the fight for a better provincial contract. "Carpenters and plumbers earn \$20 an hour on average. We are saying that an entry-level nurse should get at least that much, and experienced nurses should get more." In addition, nurses frequently complain that they are required to perform a wide range of nonnursing duties because hospitals have cut back on secretarial and clerical staff.

Despite the frayed of worn-out rooms, Savage predicted that B.C. nurses would narrowly approve last month's tentative settlement. "Nurses are disappointed we did not get all that we set out to gain," she told McPherson, "but we have

made great strides." Still, the angry mood among nurses in Quebec and elsewhere was strong indication that the fight for improved pay and recognition would continue.

BONNIE LAYNE with JOHN PERRY in Victoria, JACK LAMANA in Ontario and DAN BURKE in Montreal



*Savage: growing unrest*

GORDON PHILLIPS



Warsaw Pact soldiers in East Germany: the East European alliance is deeply divided on Soviet style restructuring

## WORLD

# 'A COMMON HOME'

**I**t was to have been a triumphal return to the city where Mikhail Gorbachev first unveiled his plans for *perestroika*—the restructuring of Soviet society—to Western Europe four years ago in his absence, clearly hoping for the same "Gorbachev" in Paris that his president had generated in Bonn the previous month, scheduled more than 50 weeks in advance for last Wednesday just before July 4, and numerous other opportunities for him to charm the French public. But the star of the show appeared twice—as deputy contractor to the redoubt crowd glorified in West Germany—and the French monoglossically swore: Gorbachev's closeness with *Perestroika* were few and strained. Journalists expressed outrage when many of his interviews were strongly censored. A senior French official said that the Soviet leader, preoccupied with problems back home, had asked for large amounts of free time in his program so that he could say a word with Moscow. But a member of the Soviet entourage, Vadim Zagladin, conceded: "As far as the popularity of Mr. Gorbachev is concerned and

## ON BOTH SIDES OF THE EUROPEAN DIVIDE, GORBACHEV PROMOTES HIS VISION OF AMITY AND PEACE

the [French] attitude toward *perestroika*, there has been some lagging behind."

Still, Gorbachev did not come empty-handed. Addressing the 23-nation Council of Europe in Strasbourg—the first Communist leader to do so in its 46-year history—he offered participants a nuclear pact and a NATO agreement to talk on eliminating short-range missiles from Europe. At well, Gorbachev and President François Mitterrand signed 22 accords on

trade, technical and industrial cooperation. But NATO quickly rejected his terms for the arms cuts. And the French accords will not alleviate the hard currency shortage in the Soviet Union, which needs some \$36 billion to modernize industry and import consumer goods before Gorbachev's reforms have a chance to produce results. Gorbachev left France on July 5 with little to look forward to except a two-day sojourn at the Elysées Palace in Paris and a visit to the capital, Chateaufort.

There, on the opening day of the annual secretariat meeting, Gorbachev hailed a "new spirit" in the Eastern alliance and said that each member should be free to pursue its own path while respecting that of others. That theme was echoed as the summit's closing statement. The seven leaders agreed, and Communists Oosters, the pact's Romanian general secretary, that "each state has the inalienable right to choose its own economic and political system."

The statement underlined the political division in the alliance. Both Hungary and Poland—where, on July 4, Solidarity became

the first opposition group in a Communist country to be open into parliament—clearly regard Gorbachev's reforms as legitimizing the liberalization they have already undertaken. Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria have taken a more cautious line, while East Germany openly supports glasnost and *perestroika*, claiming that its strong economic performance elevates the need for reform. And Romania's dictatorial Nicolae Ceausescu also resists change, despite his country's precarious economic condition.

Besides the ideological rift, Hungary and Romania are at odds over Bucharest's alleged mistreatment of its Hungarian minority—an issue discussed without resolution in separate bilateral talks last week. And Bulgaria's border guards have pulled out their weapons to prevent Turkish refugees from fleeing to neighboring Turkey since May. Although welcomed

concerns. That became clear when Gorbachev stopped the funeral of former president Andrei Gromyko on July 4 to visit French investors and to promote his vision of a "European European home" without nuclear weapons and with sharply reduced defense spending. It was not, however, a newly elected People's Congress member who accompanied Gorbachev to Paris, did reporters of dwindling fuel supplies, stagnant industry and rising discontent over the lack of material benefits from *perestroika*. "Gorbachev is intelligent, not politically—he is a full control man—but economically," said Shandor. "If the capitalist trends are not turned around, in two to three years there will be complete destruction of the consumer market." For *perestroika*, Shandor added, "there is no alternative."

Trying to capitalize on what he called "the historic link" between the 1917 Soviet revolution and the French Revolution of 1789, Gorbachev and his wife, Raisa, toured the Bastille and twice left their limousine to walk around the historic square. The Soviet leader became visibly uneasy, however, when a million of reporters jostled with his security guards, preventing any contact with 7,000 Parisians waiting to catch a glimpse of the visitor. A smaller crowd waiting at the Paris city hall was disappointed when Gorbachev failed to stop for a chat.

His 39 hours of talks with Mitterrand went better than his contacts with the people. The two leaders issued a communique calling for peace in Lebanon, and Mitterrand quickly endorsed *perestroika* during a joint news conference at which Gorbachev fielded some tough questions on communism. The Soviet leader denied ongoing a "crisis of Marxism" in Eastern Europe, saying that his reforms were merely designed to "give socialism a second wind."

But the French president did not fully accept Gorbachev's pitch for a "common European home." Mitterrand made it clear that the concept would not succeed unless Europeans were granted freedom from "authoritarian and totalitarian" by the Soviets. Later, responding to a Paris telegram per border that accused Gorbachev of being "a Soviet Don Juan trying to seduce the West," Mitterrand quipped, "A common home, maybe. Not the same bedroom." It was at least a promise of platonic friendship. But, given the Soviet stance on Eastern Europe, Gorbachev could not even be sure that his members of the Communist family would stay in the same house.

**ROBERT JENSEN with ARVID JANSSEN in Paris and ALICE MATTHEWSON in Bucharest**

## World Notes

### DEATH FOR DRUG BUSINESS

A Colombian military tribunal sentenced to death four officers—underlying revolutionaries—any have Gen. Amado Ochoa Sanchez—and sentenced 10 others to lengthy prison terms for helping Colombia's notorious Medellín drug cartel smuggle narcotics out of cocaine into the United States.

### AFGHAN TROOP'S ATTACK

Afghan government forces launched their largest offensive in four months, recapturing territory outside the eastern city of Jalalabad that had been held by Mujahideen rebels since March. The attack—in which the army said that 270 guerrillas died—followed rumors that the rebels were planning a major offensive on Jalalabad later this month.

### SOVIET JET CRASHES

The pilot of a Soviet MiG-23 crashed jet on maneuvers on Poland reported after his plane developed technical trouble. But the jet continued on autopilot, flying 325 miles over Western Europe before crashing in Belgium, where it derailed a house, killing a 29-year-old man. The pilot, Col. Mikhail Shchurkin, wrote a letter of apology to the victim's family, saying that "something can happen for the best."

### CAPTURE IN SYRIAN

Syrian military officers said that Saeb al-Mabreh, a captured leader, was captured in prison member in a June 30 coup, was arrested last week in Khawass. Junta leader Gen. Omar Hassan al-Bashir has said that Mabreh, 55, and politicians associated with civilian rule would be tried before emergency tribunals in 1990. Mabreh won Syria's first democratic election in 17 years.

### PHILIPPINE AID

At a meeting in Tokyo of 18 nations aiming to aid the Philippines, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said that poverty and a \$23-billion debt have left the Asian country's fragile democracy under attack. He pledged to seek \$1 billion aid from Congress over the next five years, while Japan committed \$119 million this year, above the roughly \$1 billion it has already provided.

### CAR SOME KILLS GOVERNOR

In Medellín, Colombia—center of the nation's violent cocaine trade—state governor Antonio Roldán Esteban was an officer's car was killed by a car bomb. A senior military source said that Roldán—an outspoken advocate of human rights—was killed by drug traffickers or extreme leftist guerrillas.



Gorbachev, Mitterrand (right): friendship

to ethnic strife at the Soviet republics, the Bulgarian leader has been a harsh critic of Soviet liberalism in America, Australia, Yugoslavia and Kazakhstan caused by nationalist tensions.

In fact, in his private talks with Mitterrand earlier last week, Gorbachev said the "nationalist problem" was his major headache. It followed him to Paris, where 2,000 American troops demonstrated outside the Soviet Embassy, demanding the return of Nagorno-Karabakh, a disputed territory ruled by Soviet Armenia to neighboring Azerbaijan in 1923.

The sinking Soviet economy is also a grave

## FRANCE

## A high-level fete

Paris braces for the 15th economic summit

Even for Paris, a city that has seen its share of historic celebrations, this week's plans to mark the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution promise to be spectacular. There were to be fireworks, trials on parade and flowers being sent to friends or foes. An army of 30,000 soldiers and officials, including riot police, and bridges, sharpshooters or roadblocks—over a course of a week—were to guard the world leaders. A double ambush—were to guard the leaders of 32 nations, guests of President François Mitterrand. And at the end of the week, so of those leaders, including Prime Minister Jean-Marie Le Pen, were to join Mitterrand at the Elysée for the closing event of the celebration, the 15th annual economic summit of the world's seven most powerful industrial nations.

Last week officials in Paris and Ottawa were biding the summit in the first that will face on environmental problems, especially the warming of the atmosphere (page 35). In fact, a Washington news briefing on July 6, President George Bush declared, "Let Paris be known as the summit that accepted the environmental challenge." The reason that the environmental may take center stage is because there are fewer disputes than in recent years over trade and financial policy, the staple diet of past summits. And, therein largely to forestall last year's Gorbachev's ongoing desire for bilateral relations between the Western powers and the Warsaw Pact nations are clearly improving. But in each of the seven summits—G7, G8, G9, G10, G11, G12, G13, G14, G15, G16, G17, G18, G19, G20, G21, G22, G23, G24, G25, G26, G27, G28, G29, G30, G31, G32, G33, G34, G35, G36, G37, G38, G39, G40, G41, G42, G43, G44, G45, G46, G47, G48, G49, G50, G51, G52, G53, G54, G55, G56, G57, G58, G59, G60, G61, G62, G63, G64, G65, G66, G67, G68, G69, G70, G71, G72, G73, G74, G75, G76, G77, G78, G79, G80, G81, G82, G83, G84, G85, G86, G87, G88, G89, G90, G91, G92, G93, G94, G95, G96, G97, G98, G99, G100, G101, G102, G103, G104, G105, G106, G107, G108, G109, G110, G111, G112, G113, G114, G115, G116, G117, G118, G119, G120, G121, G122, G123, G124, G125, G126, G127, G128, G129, G130, G131, G132, G133, G134, G135, G136, G137, G138, G139, G140, G141, G142, G143, G144, G145, G146, G147, G148, G149, G150, G151, G152, G153, G154, G155, G156, G157, G158, G159, G160, G161, G162, G163, G164, G165, G166, G167, G168, G169, G170, G171, G172, G173, G174, G175, G176, G177, G178, G179, G180, G181, G182, G183, 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G2156, G2157, G2158, G2159, G2160, G2161, G2162, G2163, G2164, G2165, G2166

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# Legacy of repression

China's crackdown on dissidents continues

One month after the Chinese army launched its bloody attack on pro-democracy demonstrators in Beijing, the crackdown continued. Police arrested more protesters last week, as well as a Taiwanese reporter whom they accused of aiding a fugitive student leader. And on July 5, soldiers confiscated film from their households of terrified Japanese tourists who had been photographing troops stationed in the capital's Tiananmen Square. China's hard-line leaders also launched a series of blistering attacks on Zhao Ziyang, who had been ousted as Communist party general secretary in the midst of the crisis for failing to crush the demonstration. Still, there were alarming signs that, since Chinese remained critical of their government. In Beijing bookstores, Zhao's biography proved so popular that the cover price doubled. "It's a hot-selling book," said one shop assistant. And hundreds of people used office telephones "illegally"—set up for citizens to report

"counterrevolutionaries"—to denounce Premier Li Peng. Moreover, signs that one soldier last week and the bodies of two strangled soldiers were pulled from a Beijing canal. China's leaders also found themselves under attack from abroad. In a joint statement issued on July 6 from Paris, student leader Wang Kun and dissident returned foreign activists that China's double-edged policy of non-use reform would continue. And in what Chinese sources said was an effort to prove the government's commitment to reform, Communist leaders decided to meet one of the main demands of the pro-democracy movement—a crackdown on official corruption. Last week, several local officials were arrested for fraud. But whether those measures will be enough to win the hearts of the Chinese people—or restore international confidence—remains uncertain.

In China, meanwhile, Communist leaders attempted to foster an air of normalcy. A government spokesman called the violent rioting Japanese tourists "naive," and other officials reassured foreign visitors that China's double-edged policy of non-use reform would continue. And in what Chinese sources said was an effort to prove the government's commitment to reform, Communist leaders decided to meet one of the main demands of the pro-democracy movement—a crackdown on official corruption. Last week, several local officials were arrested for fraud. But whether those measures will be enough to win the hearts of the Chinese people—or restore international confidence—remains uncertain.

MARY REMETZ with LOUISE BRANDON in Beijing

The continued tensions in China also spilled over last week into Hong Kong where an emotional outpouring of grief and anger greeted British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe when he arrived for a three-day visit. Crowds joined Howe when he refused to accept demands to grant citizens of the colony—which Britain has agreed to surrender to China in 1997—the right to opt-in as British. "We are very angry that the United Kingdom is to hand to million Hong Kong people to a government that oppressed thousands of students at Tiananmen Square," said Lee Wing-tai, one of eight people who walked out of a bus-ticket at which Howe addressed 200 colonial officials.

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THE UNITED STATES

# A forgiving sentence

A federal judge sentences Oliver North

In the hushed, air-glassed courtroom in Washington, D.C., Oliver North stood rigid and quietly, he confessed last week to making "many mistakes" and asked for mercy. Then, the 41-year-old former marine lieutenant-colonel, who was convicted of three crimes stemming from the Iran-contra scandal: helped to cover up from Congress the secret sale of U.S. arms to Iran and the diversion of some of the profits to Nicaraguan contra rebels in 1985 and 1986, of destroying government documents and of accepting an illegal gift—a security system for his home. Although North could have received the maximum sentence of 10 years in prison and a fine of nearly \$900,000, the judge said that "it's a time for forgiveness." Former national security adviser John Poindexter is scheduled for trial in the fall on charges of conspiracy, lying to Congress and obstructing congressional inquiries. Richard

Legal scholars said that it is difficult to judge what message the light sentence conveys for the three officers awaiting trial in the Iran-contra scandal. In May, North was convicted of helping to cover up from Congress the secret sale of U.S. arms to Iran and the diversion of some of the profits to Nicaraguan contra rebels in 1985 and 1986, of destroying government documents and of accepting an illegal gift—a security system for his home. Although North could have received the maximum sentence of 10 years in prison and a fine of nearly \$900,000, the judge said that "it's a time for forgiveness." Former national security adviser John Poindexter is scheduled for trial in the fall on charges of conspiracy, lying to Congress and obstructing congressional inquiries. Richard



North: a plea for mercy

more general, Richard Secord and his business partner Albert Hakim also face charges.

One effect of Gezell's decision was that it eliminated any need for President George Bush to confront the issue of a pardon. Still, a group of 46 right-wing congressmen sent a petition to the White House urging Bush to pass that "Oliver North is not a criminal," argued California Republican Representative Dana Rohrabacher. "At worst, he was caught up in the political conflict behind his position and at best, he was an honest person."

A popular figure on the lecture circuit who commands a fee of nearly \$20,000, North will

be able to pay off his fine with just six speeches. But last week, the navy suspended his \$27,400-a-year pension pending a ruling by the comptroller general on whether he is entitled to the retirement pay. At the sentencing, Gezell told North, "You can choose to face the myth by which you have supported yourself during these recent difficult years or you can turn around and do something useful." It remains to be seen whether the former White

House aide and now convicted felon will take the judge's stern advice.

WILLIAM LOFTIS in Washington



EVOLUTION



THE EVOLUTION OF BEER

# SOVIET PROFITS

**CO-OPERATIVES ARE  
FLOURISHING IN THE  
SOVIET UNION, BUT  
NOT ALL CONSUMERS  
ARE HAPPY WITH  
THE RESULTS**

**T**he 30 or 40 people who visit the Co-operative Art Gallery on downtown Moscow's Chelmsky Street each day often come out grumbling. Unlike Moscow's large and usually first-class state galleries, the co-operative charges an admission fee of two rubles, the equivalent of about \$4 at the official exchange rate. Inside the two cubicles used exhibition rooms, the walls are lined with state storehouse paintings. Most of them, in styles ranging from Abstract Expressionism to Postmodernism, offer ideas and concepts that have seldom appeared publicly in the Soviet Union. Because of that, and 38-year-old curator Yegor Mita, "many people do not understand what our co-operative is trying to do. And when they do not understand, people often say they do not like it."

The lament is common to many owners of the estimated 75,000 privately owned, profit-making co-operatives now open across the Soviet Union. Two years after Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev first supported their creation, the growth of co-operatives has become one of the most controversial aspects of Gorbachev's program of *perestroika* (reform). With goods and services ranging from selling livestock to restaurants to restaurants to restaurants, co-operatives last year had estimated revenues of about \$1.1 billion—a total of about one per cent of the Soviet economy and roughly the same as what Canada spent on defence last year. The co-op revenues represent an increase of more than 17 times the 1987 total revenue of \$640 million. The Soviet state planning committee has predicted that revenues will double again next year. Soviet

officials are also depending on co-ops to provide new employment opportunities for the 16 million workers whom they estimate will leave new jobs by the end of the century because of economic changes. Said a Moscow-based Western diplomat: "A little taste of capitalism could go a very long way."

But such dramatic growth has fuelled resentment among Soviet consumers, who say that they distrust the motives and operating practices of co-operatives. One reader, in a letter to the newspaper *Sovetskaya Kultura*, referred to co-operative owners as speculators who serve the "hacking people's blood." Many Soviets say that co-operative restaurants—which usually charge prices more than 30 times the average of state-run restaurants—often sell food supplies and, as a result, cause shortages for ordinary consumers. In a stinging attack earlier this year, *Pravda*, the official newspaper of the Communist party, accused many co-operatives of profiteering through buying state materials, attaching different wrappings and labels and reselling them at vastly higher prices. Said *Pravda*: "Such practices have become widespread."

Some of these complaints are clearly justified. In the Soviet Union, where the average monthly wage equals \$378, few consumers can afford prices that are exorbitant even by the standards of higher-paid Westerners. A lunch at Moscow's Uspensky res-



Restaurant, consisting of a light salad, juice and several meatless entrees, will typically cost about \$40 per person. Dinner at the first restaurant, another downtown co-operative, averages more than \$60 per person for such meals as roast pork or boiled beef—served with or liquor. Some bustling Soviet capitalists in the co-operative movement seem devoted to achieving new heights in prices and services. When the newly formed Congress of Soviet Co-operatives held its first meeting last month, foreign journalists were told that they could obtain publicity releases about the congress from BAKET, a news-gathering co-operative and participant in the meeting. The cost for the service was \$315.

At the same time, Soviet authorities often display a confusing and ambivalent attitude toward the co-operative movement. Although co-ops are regarded as one of the cornerstones of

Gorbachev's reform efforts, prospective owners often face walls of red tape and a bewildering array of government regulations before receiving their operating licenses. Earlier this year, the government ordered the closure of most co-ops offering medical services, as well as others that showed videotapes of popular movies that often were not available in regular theaters. Other businesses in the cultural sector, including private schools and publishers of scientific and literary works, were banned entirely—in order to "remove negative phenomena," according to a spokes-

man. In the past, the state buys them for, and building materials at twice the price. "As a result, he said, consumers can buy and lease for \$15,000 now cost three times as much. In fact, some government officials appear prepared to accept co-operatives only when their prices are not directly competitive. Said prominent Soviet economist Gennadiy Popov, a strong supporter of the co-operative movement: "When co-operative prices are higher than the state ones, the monopoly and omnipotence of the state sector are intact. If the prices of co-operatives are lower than the state ones, then it is not just a loss driver in a photographer who is a taxicab, but the whole system."

Some co-operatives have also attracted unwanted attention from another group. Last year, Alexander Levas, a specialist on organized crime with the Soviet ministry of internal affairs, said that co-operatives have become favorite targets of the country's growing number of organized crime groups. The groups use the co-operatives to launder profits from drug sales. At the same time, co-operative owners say that they have an increasing problem with organized crime groups attempting to extort protection money from them. Earlier this year, several Moscow cafes were vandalized, and customers in one cafe were slightly wounded when two men, brandishing knives, set the restaurant on fire. At Yuzhnyy, Moscow's only Jewish co-operative restaurant, founder Yevgeny Permyakov said that vandals have broken the front window several times. Declined Permyakov: "Being Jewish is a fact of life we have come to recognize."

In spite of such problems, few co-operatives workers openly regret their involvement. Said at government jobs, Vladimir Sushkov, 40, says that he joined a co-op last year that the average co-op worker makes between \$200 and \$300 a month—more than twice the national average. And, they say, the intangible benefits of making their own decisions are substantial. At the Chelmsky Street Art Gallery, paintings by local artists are on sale for between \$200 and \$37,000. Said curator Mita, whose work is also on display: "This gallery is my life, not just a way to make a living. Here we can see and buy and sell the things we want." Now, supporters of the co-op movement must continue more rigorous efforts to show that widespread freedom of choice is worth the cost, any price.

**CO-OPERATIVE RESTAURANTS IN MOSCOW: exorbitant prices**

ANTHONY WILSON SMITH in Moscow

## Business Notes

### AIK-CANADA SHARE SELL-OFF

The federal government sold its remaining 50-per-cent stake in Aik-Canada for \$12 per share. The 41 million shares sold in six days fetched \$475 million for the treasury. Last October, the \$240 million raised from the sale of the first 43 per cent of Aik-Canada shares—at \$58 apiece—went to the airline itself.

### ELLEN MERGER APPROVED

Robert Goldstein, the director of Ottawa's Bureau of competition policy, said that he would allow Carling O'Keefe Ltd. and Molson Co. Ltd. to merge to form Canada's largest brewery, to be called Molson-Brewery. Executives from rival John Labatt Ltd. had asked Goldstein to veto the new company to give up some of its brand-name beers, but he refused to obstruct any conditions to the deal.

### PIERO-CANADA LAUNCHES

Following a 10-per-cent decline in its profits in 1984, Piero-Canada announced that it will lay off an undisclosed number of its 7,600 employees beginning this summer. The Crown-owned energy company announced 2,000 employees in 1985 following a sharp drop in oil prices.

### BILTZBERG BIG LOSERS

Members of the Vancouver-based Biltzberg family disclosed that they have accumulated 9.55 per cent of the shares of Proulx-Biltzberg, a building materials manufacturer. According to Proulx-Biltzberg Inc. and that they may make a takeover offer for the company. Armstrong chairman William Adams quickly filed a lawsuit in an effort to block any bid by the Canadian corporate raiders.

### CORRIGES FIGHTS BACK

Principal Group Ltd. president Donald Corrigan filed a \$25-million lawsuit against Alberta Treasurer Atchukoff (Dew) Johnson and former consultant and corporate adviser Robert G. Gormley. Gormley and Elaine McCoy, alleging that they received an \$1.2-billion financial services agreement in collusion by showing to two largest subsidiaries on June 30, 1987, without legal participation.

### AGRI-FOODS BAN

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency announced that it will phase out the production, importation and use of substance over a seven-year period, beginning in 1990. Quebec's Minister Raymond Sirois said that the province's largest producers of substance in the non-chemical world—will go to court as an effort to overturn the ban.

### Private face in Economic obstacles and frustrations

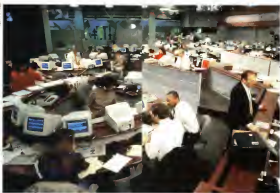






COVER

# MEDIA WARS



Thomson: "We will be able to compete for any conceivable target"

## CANADA'S MOST POWERFUL PRESS BARONS JOIN THE HEATED BATTLE FOR WORLD- WIDE MEDIA SUPREMACY

**C**orvid Black loves solitary history and powerful people, small newspapers and big words. Wealthy, intellectual and learned, Black is Canada's fastest-rising and most flamboyant media tycoon. As chairman of Toronto-based Hollinger Inc., he owns 207 newspapers ranging from the London *Evening Standard*, Britain's largest-circulation quality paper, to *The Little Green Shopper*, a weekly groceryer published in Canby, B.C. To oversee his burgeoning empire, Black has assembled a board of directors that includes former American secretary of state Henry Kissinger, Canadian billionaire Paul Brindley and Peter Brundage, and British aristocrat Lord Carrington. And in late June every year, Black holds the annual Hollinger dinner, which he has turned into one of Toronto's premier social events after drawing Kissinger in 1987 and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1988. This year, former U.S. president Ronald Reagan attended—and that left many guests wondering what Black will do for an encore in 1990.

While Black shared the head table with Reagan, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Finance Minister Michael Wilson and several other dignitaries, Kenneth Thomson, Canada's largest, wealthiest and perhaps least flamboyant media giant, sat at Table 8, surrounded by fellow businessmen and corporate executives. Although both Black and Thomson own newspapers and magazines, they are very different

individuals. Yet both are driven by a desire to create large companies, primarily by acquiring more newspapers. And over the past two months, Thomson has completed two transactions that have transformed his publishing empire into one of the top 25 in the world. First, the Thomson organization paid \$372 million for Rochester, N.Y.-based Laney's Cooperative Publishing Co., which produces legal manuals and textbooks. Then, in early June, Thomson merged two family-controlled companies to create The Thomson Corp., a global publishing giant with annual sales of \$5.8 billion. Says Thomson: "We will be able to compete for any conceivable target."

**Ambition:** The emergence of global media companies, owning newspapers, magazines, book publishers, television stations, cable networks and even movie studios in several countries, is driven by two factors. The first is the incredible ambition of media entrepreneurs—including Canadians Thomson and Black, Australian entrepreneur Rupert Murdoch and Britain's Robert Maxwell—who are determined to expand their companies but who cannot find adequate opportunities in any single market, except perhaps the United States. The second cause—which is behind a complex, three-way takeover battle currently unfolding in New

York City and involving Time Inc., Paramount Communications Inc. and Warner Communications Inc.—is the concept of synergy, or the ability of one company to create, package, market and distribute a product on a worldwide basis. The perceived threat of such media companies sparks an other fundamental change that is sweeping the entire industry. Says Maxwell: "The communications and information industry will consolidate, in the same way as the oil, chemical and financial services industries did in the past, to the point where some 10 major corporations will dominate the global market."

**Being:** To a large degree, the industry is being transformed by a handful of daring and dynamic entrepreneurs, most of them well-educated, and some of whom are known to despise each other. Perhaps the most aggressive is Rupert Murdoch, 56, who started in 1953 with a failing Australian newspaper and now owns papers, magazines, TV stations and production studios on four continents. The Oxford-educated Murdoch, who rules the London tabloids to work for a time in order to observe communist editing habits, is considered reserved and amiable—except with business adversaries like Maxwell. The two collided in 1988 while trying to purchase News of the World, a newspapered British weekly paper. When Murdoch won, Maxwell called him a "corb-eaten kangaroo."

Two decades later, Czech-born Maxwell, who grew up in a poverty-stricken family of seven children, has finally achieved his goal of owning a global media company—and the status that comes with it. In late February of prominent Washington, including the Rev. Jesse Jackson, attended a party hosted by Maxwell should

Black: a flashy tycoon who loves small newspapers and big words

has 190-foot yacht, The Lady Gairloch. By comparison, Thomson tends to avoid the spotlight and public spots with business rivals. He started a substantial company from his father, Roy Thomson, Lord Thomson of Fleet, who died in 1976. The elder Thomson launched the family empire by acquiring the *Times*, *Ort*, *Daily Press* in 1934. Kenneth Thomson has expanded the family holdings enormously, but his real passion is the large collection of art treasures, including nearly 200 paintings by the early Canadian painter Cornelius Krieghoff, on the 26th floor of the Thomson Building in downtown Toronto.

Black is leading his publishing empire in much the same way that the Thomson did—by acquiring small-town daily and weekly newspapers in Canada and the United States (page 28). He has also demonstrated Murdoch's fear for domestic foreign acquisition by acquiring the failing *Daily Telegraph* in 1985 and quickly turning it into a money-maker. Last April, he made another daring move by acquiring 77 per cent of the influential but money-losing *Jerusalem Post*.

But according to many observers, Black faces a formidable challenge if he wants to make a large acquisition that will quickly and substantially increase the size of Hollinger. The big obstacle in the global game, not only those run by Murdoch, Maxwell and Thomson, but also the long-established European companies that have shaken the entire U.S. media industry with merger acquisitions. They range from Rupert Murdoch's News Corp., a 154-year-old New York-based company with annual revenues of \$4 billion from the sale of magazines, records, video, records, radio and TV programs in 25 countries, to the 160-year-old Paris-based Hachette Group, whose books, newspapers, magazines, film and broadcast programs reach consumers in 26 countries.

**Race:** The major money battles of the global media game increasingly are taking place on two fronts: in the United States and Europe. Government deregulation of television and radio in several Western European countries, notably Britain, France and West Germany, has triggered a race by private companies to set up broadcasting networks and has created a



Maxwell's enjoying his celebrity status



Maxwell's from tabloids to television





Mitchell: publishers are lured by the possibility of high profits, but losses can run into the millions

## A GOLDEN AGE FOR MAGAZINES

### GUTS AND MONEY DRIVE NEW GROWTH

Consumers in the midtown Manhattan neighborhood last month were tired and grumpy, annoyed by an unusually long wait to pay for their fast-food lunch. Tempers were beginning to fray when a young woman in the slow-moving line suddenly laughed out loud. She was reading a magazine. Guided by pop art graphics in electric shades of blue, green and yellow next to a scintillating headline: "Sex addicts, serial killers and the women who love them," she passed the time discussing the article with a fellow customer. The publication, *Prime*, was launched only eight months ago and already the glossy celebrity-and-lifestyle magazine has a circulation of 200,000. Like other new magazines, *Prime* offers its readers tangential relief from an increasingly stressful world. And despite soaring costs and high risks, the late 1980s are

proving to be an era of unprecedented growth for many other new magazines in Canada and the United States.

The changing tastes of consumers, as well as the lure of generous profits for investors, have propelled much of the recent explosive growth in new magazines. With the market for special-interest magazines nearly saturated, editors and publishers have turned their attention to a readership seldom defined by age, income and attitude—and away from narrowly defined special-interest groups. Emerging technologies have made free production quality less expensive. At the same time, editors are discovering that competing media, especially television, are failing to fulfill the consumer's growing appetite for a portable mix of information and entertainment. Robert (Timmy) McDonald is editor-in-chief of *Smart*, a men's lifestyle

magazine based in New York City that was also launched last year. Said McDonald: "Magazines are beautiful things. That was daily perceived when other media were proliferating there. But you sit at and look at a magazine slowly read it, remember it, maybe even use it. There are very few things you can see that about and also offer the advertiser an opportunity to reach these people."

An appreciation for the buying power of magazine readers grows, editors and investors are lining up to start their own publications. According to Stuart Horn, professor of journalism at the University of Mississippi in Oxford, about 500 magazines were launched in the United States last year, twice the number started in 1986. If the rate of new start-ups this year remains constant, even more magazines will have been launched by the end of 1989. Last year in Canada, 77 magazines joined the Canadian Periodical Publishers' Association.

**Snapping.** The costs can be staggering. In the United States, where the vast majority of magazines that appear on Canadian newsstands are produced, many publishers estimate start-up costs for a top-quality magazine to be as high as \$12 million to \$24 million. And the triumph of starting a new magazine is often short-lived. In the United States, 50 per cent of new magazines have no second issue. More than 80 per cent disappear entirely within four years. In Canada, eight out of 10 consumer magazines do not survive past their fifth year.

But the revenues can be enormous. Peter Boudreau, president and chief executive offi-

cer of Domestica Communications Inc., increased \$180 million in October, 1987, to buy 100 magazines, owners of such money-movers as *Time* and *News*. In June, 1988, he would the renamed company in Penn-based Hefner Group, the world's largest magazine company for more than \$600 million. And while the trend has slowed now, the market also has been a new magazine aimed at disabled readers who want to relive major news events of the past. Called *Memories*, the magazine has surprised even Domestica with its success. Said Domestica: "People are seeing the incredible amount of money that can be made selling magazines."

**Interest.** In Canada, a small audience and intense competition from well-funded American publishing giants including Reader's Digest, Time, Playboy and Good News Publications Inc.—publishers of *Wings*, *Crave* and *Quarterly*—has made magazine publishing even riskier than it is north of the border. Said Lynn Cunningham, executive editor of Toronto's *Life* magazine: "Applauding who can start a magazine in Canada right now needs their head read." Cunningham points to a new federal sales tax that would apply to magazines, as well as plans to alter the terms under which postal rates are established. Both were approved in federal budget last April. James Worrall, president of Canadian periodical publishing at Maclean Hunter Ltd., said that "substantial losses" could occur if magazines are forced to pay higher postal rates.

Cunningham credits such companies as Montreal-based Telemedia Inc., which owns *Exposure* and *Weekend* magazines, with continuing to publish magazines for the love of it, losses at *Exposure* reaching \$260,000 last year. Telemedia's non-paying perspective—reporting Canadian Living and TV Guide—embodies its other ventures. It also expects to increase profits under a joint venture with *Elle* magazine, which publishes the spectacularly successful women's fashion magazine *Elle*. Telemedia plans to publish a Quebec edition of *Elle* later this year.

The Toronto *Globe* and Mail, owned by Thomson Corp., has launched four new magazines since March, 1985, and plans to launch *West* in September, as well as a redesigned Montreal. All of the G&M magazines are

developed only with the newspaper. *Globe* publisher A. Roy Magarity told *Maclean's* that the *Globe* has its own ideas as a "primary task" to develop circulation for *The Globe and Mail*. He added: "Outside Toronto, we get up to a 50-per-cent lift in single-copy sales when the magazines come out." Magarity said that the



Art department at Saturday Night: Magarity (below), growing costs

*Globe* wants its magazines to make money on their own. The *Report* on Business Magazine, the only consistent money-maker in the group, which also includes *Travel*, *Destinations* (travel magazine) and the business magazine *Focus*, said Magarity: "They're two exceptions to have just to get a one-day life."

Some other groups are also bringing the deep waters of new magazine publishing. Maclean Hunter Ltd., which publishes *Maclean's*, *Choice*, *Focus* and *Play*, last April launched *Salute*, a men's fashion magazine aimed at affluent consumers in their 30s. Frank Stronach, the main shareholder of auto-parts-maker Magna International Inc., last year created *Vista*, a glossy new entry into the competitive field of business publications. And in 1987, Conrad Black's *Hot* began life. Bought Saturday Night and revamped the women's magazine.

At the other end of the spectrum, a group of three veteran journalists in Montreal—David Bradley, Lynette Wood and Denise Coeur—run a shoestring operation that produces *Profil*, a snazzy magazine of gossip and reform modeled on Britain's *Private Eye*. *Profil* now prints 6,000 copies every two weeks and has survived without

advertising since its 1987 start-up. The search for readers whose needs are not being met by other magazines can produce surprising results. Witness a women's design magazine launched by Harriet Gory in 1987, intended for the U.S. magazine industry by achieving a circulation of 750,000 in less than two years. According to editor Nancy Landeckner, Victoria's soft-focus photos featuring romantic, old-fashioned scenes long lacy fabrics and a museum of prints, appeal to busy, well-educated career women who are also looking for a little "grace and loneliness in everyday life."

Toronto-based Anne Asper, *Business*, who says that she reads at least 10 magazines a month, agreed that it is Victoria's quiet angle that appeals to her: "I can sit on the porch at the cottage, get my feet up and have a little drink while I read it," she says.

**Women.** Indeed, there is a clutch of wildly successful new magazines aimed at women. Grace Mitchell, 59, who edited *Vogue* for 17 years before being dismissed last year for allegedly removing from her past last year, now has her name on a new magazine. Published by Murdoch Magazines, the last issue of Mitchell's disappeared from newsstands as only a few weeks in May and June, forcing the new publication to make out with its small circulation of 40,000. A gracious, down-to-earth woman, Mitchell seems surprised by her fashion and lifestyle magazine's immediate success. Said Mitchell: "Now I'm doing the things I always wanted to do."

And Frances Lear, 65, has also started with *Leah's* New York City-based magazine aimed at women over 40. After little more than a year on newsstands, *Leah's* boasts more than 254,000 new readers. Lear, a woman of iron determination, launched the magazine using \$10 million from a \$112 million divorce settlement with television producer Norman Lear. According to Lear, her publication has succeeded because there was no other magazine that exclusively addressed the concerns of older women, an audience group of consumers that advertisers and editors ignore. Said Lear: "My mother's life was very simple, but our lives are more complicated now. We must have support systems to help us, and magazines are one of those systems." More and more, providing that support is the key to establishing a base of loyal—and affluent—readers. And for both editors and investors, making those readers has become a game of nerve and intuition on which reputations and millions of dollars depend.

PATRICIA CHESSBORN is New York City

# WIRING THE WORLD

## CABLE OPERATORS ARE ON THE MARCH

Quebec cable TV entrepreneur André Chagnon calls them "the untouchables." They are members of the one-third of Quebec households who consent to refuse to subscribe to the television services of Chagnon's Le Groupe Vidéotron Inc., Canada's second-largest cable company. Chagnon is now trying to lure the holdouts by offering additional features, including paid satellite ads, dating services and electronic mail. Vidéotron is also pioneering what it calls "interactive television," in which the viewer can play videogames, send or receive electronic messages and gain access to bank accounts on their TV screens. The company's ambitious objective is to make television as indispensable to the average household as electricity or telephone. Said Chagnon: "It's difficult to reach the untouchables. We need to offer more than



Taping a cable phone-in show: competing with video recorders, antennas and satellite dishes

just entertainment, because Quebecers are not interested in U.S. programming."

**Competing.** Vidéotron also has plans to export its cable television package to Britain, along with two other Canadian companies, Toronto-based Maclean Hunter Ltd. and Scarborough-based CTV Broadcasting Ltd., that have won cable franchises in Britain. Maclean Hunter is the Canadian company with the largest cable holdings in the United States. In Britain, the Canadian companies will be competing for subscribers against the four-channel Sky Television—launched last February by Australian-born global media giant Rupert Murdoch. And E.S. (Ted) Rogers, president of Toronto-based Rogers Communications Ltd., Canada's largest cable company, says that the industry will face heavy competition over the next decade from upwelling satellite receivers, video cassette recorders (VCRs) and even improved forms of over-the-air television. In order to remain relevant and profitable, and Rogers, cable must become an electronic magazine rack that allows viewers to choose the programming they want, when they want it.

Based on published evidence alone, Canada's cable television industry is one of the most

extensive and successful in the Western world. As estimated across million Canadian households, out of a total of 9.6 million overall, currently subscribe to cable, and industry experts say that another one million subscribers will be added by 1994. By comparison, cable

television is merely being introduced in Britain and France. In the United States, cable companies reach only 53 per cent of all households.

**Rapid.** Cable developed largely in Canada—starting in 1963—because companies could pick up so many popular U.S. signals and distribute them to households along the border with Canadian programming.

In the early 1970s, microwave dishes and satellites made a rapid expansion of cable possible into more remote regions of the nation, including the high Arctic. It began in the United States and the mid-1970s, when Time Inc.-owned Reader's Digest and such entrepreneurs as Atlanta's R. E. (Ted) Turner and others began offering specialty and pay programming to compete with the major networks. Ted Turner's Turner's 24-hour sports and entertainment channel, is now available to 49.5 million U.S. households in all 50 states, Minnesota. Turner's Cable News Network (CNN), a 24-hour news service, reached an average of 283,000 households at any given time in 1988.

Osborne, the U.S. media are all pervasive



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When it comes to service, no one reigns over Denmark like Canadian, with departures from Toronto every Friday and Sunday.

And you'll travel in the most comfortable thrones (seats) in the air, aboard our brand new 767 wide bodies.

Once there, you'll discover in royal fashion the cobblestone courtyards, mermaids and most first written about by Hans

Christian Andersen a century ago. Take the time to go back in time, and call your Travel Agent or Canadian Airlines International.

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We are Canadian

Canadian is a registered trademark of Canadian Airlines International Ltd.

While poaching to the United States stimulated the development of cable in Canada, auditors say that poaching also threatens the Canadian voice. Ron Macdonald, Rogers president Ronald Osborne: "Television viewers, and readers in Canada spend so much of their time looking to U.S. media, watching U.S. media, and reading U.S. media, there's less time left over for Canadian media." He added, "The lack for Canadian media is getting a share of mind." That will become increasingly difficult, Rogers warned, as satellite and video cassette technology improves.

**Forecast:** Currently, there are an estimated 200,000 to 300,000 satellite dishes in Canada picking up dozens of U.S. services, including Turner's SuperStation and CNN. Rogers said that by the time of the strategy, incoming dishes may be so small as cereal bowls because satellite and the signals they transmit will be much more powerful years, selling for as little as \$275 and already found in more than 55 per cent of Canadian homes—compared with just 37 per cent in early 1986—may soon be delivering some-quality images to the television screen.

In response to the competitive threats, Roger Rogers, the association's vice-president of technology and planning, said that the industry must accelerate converting from coaxial cables made of copper and aluminum to fibre optics, which are more of glass threads. Fibre optics, he said, provide much better picture quality and increased channel capacity. Currently, most Canadian cable systems carry about 36 channels. By 1993, most systems will be offering well more than 50. And Rogers predicted that, by the year 2000, as many as 200 channels may be available.

**Specialty:** The proliferation of channels will allow cable companies to offer their subscribers movies on demand. Rogers said that a cable company could show a 90-minute movie in nine different channels for starting at 10-minute intervals. The process could be repeated with five different movies, and the cable company would still be using only 45 channels. Another 55 channels might be devoted to specialty programming starting on the hour or the half hour. The objective, he said, would be to let the viewer decide when to watch a movie or program. Added Rogers: "People want the programming when they want it, not just Sunday morning and not at 9 o'clock tonight."

Besides offering more movies and entertainment programming, cable companies can offer

profile offering services such as classified and real estate advertising and home shopping. According to a cable association survey, 98 cable systems, serving 76 per cent of all Canadian subscribers, offered that kind of programming in June 1986. The association predicts that cable industry revenues for such services will increase to \$23 million by 1994 from \$2 million in 1985.

By most measures, Montreal-based Vidéotron currently offers the most innovative and



Rogers: offering viewers movies on demand

entertainment services as opposed to traditional programming. Chagnon said that his company has had to develop alternatives, because French-speaking Quebecers are less interested in American-produced entertainment than Anglo-Canadians. As a result, they are less likely to subscribe to cable. In the 250 Quebec municipalities that Vidéotron serves, only 64 per cent of the households are cable subscribers, while in northern Alberta, where the same company serves 36 municipalities, almost 60 per cent of the households subscribe.

As well as real estate, dating and career advertising, Vidéotron's TV in Quebec includes business and professional career appointments, vacation travel ads and Montreal-area entertainment listings. Pierre Hlbert, president of Le Club Vidéotron life, the voluntary responsible for developing new products, said that more than 3,500 people joined the dating service during the past year while

750 homes were sold through Vidéotron ads. Homeowners pay \$250 for a real estate ad, which includes a listing of 10 to 15 dollars of their home—words, written text and a word description. If the house sells, the owner pays a \$2,000 fee, no matter what the sale price.

In September, the company plans to launch a service called Vidéotron in the Montreal area, including Massachusetts, vice-president of business development for Vidéotron Plan Inc., a subsidiary of Le Groupe Vidéotron. With a small company, about the size of a standard TV converter, and a keyboard, Vidéotron subscribers will have access to weather reports, literary and sports results, flight timetables, job listings, recipes, health reports and other types of information. Macdonald said that Vidéotron is even discussing with some financial institutions in Quebec the possibility of an arrangement that would allow subscribers to use their own account balances on their home TV screen. Vidéotron will also broadcast Montreal Canadiens hockey games and other live entertainment, including ballets and symphony concerts, from four different angles.

**Problems:** For Canadian companies like Vidéotron, Macdonald Hlbert and c/o Broadbanding, the new prospect is to enter in Britain, a country where cable television is in its infancy. Macdonald Hlbert and a British partner are now constructing a system, at a cost of \$60 million, that will bring cable to 168,000 households in East Lancashire. CMC Broadbanding is a minority partner in two cable franchises awarded to British Telecom. CMC will provide marketing and administrative services for the systems, which will cover 550,000 homes when constructed. Vidéotron has acquired three franchises, two within the city of London and a third in Southampton, covering a total of 600,000 households. Rogers, meanwhile, has sold its U.S. cable franchises in order to develop a national cellular telephone network in Canada and to seek a license for a long-distance telephone service in partnership with Montreal-based Canadian Pacific Ltd.

The Canadian companies are entering a rapidly evolving market, and they will be competing against Murdoch—one of the world's leading entrepreneurs—for subscribers. Until last February, British viewers received paid channels that included the sports and entertainment-oriented British Broadcasting Corp. and two run by private companies. Murdoch's Sky Television added four specialty channels devoted to entertainment, news, sports and movies. But by mid-June, fewer than 100,000 households had bought the \$500 satellite dishes and receivers needed to pick up the service, and Murdoch had offered 20,000 free receivers to cover his London newspapers. While Murdoch faces a long, costly battle for acceptance of Sky Television, Chagnon expects confidence that British viewers will readily subscribe to the new services. Such will immediately offer nearly 30 channels, but subscribers have to choose. British viewers are experiencing a television revolution.

BY ARCY JENSEN



# Sugar Bay

## DISCOVER SUGAR BAY RUM.

The carefree rum whose secret lies in the heart of the Caribbean.



# IN THE BLACK

## NEWSPAPERS CAST A LUCRATIVE SPELL

Seated in high-backed chairs in his fourth-floor office, Doug MacLean smiled on a balcony and chrome modernist and eagles on the Toronto Star Publishing Corp. had spent \$300 million since November, 1987, starting two newspapers and buying 27 others. As a result of the spending spree, the company's value, says MacLean, has risen for wealthy elite page 3 Sunshine girls, racy headlines and colourful sports coverage now owns properties as diverse as the monthly Ontario May Farmer and a three-per-cent interest in Toronto's SkyDome. But although Star Publishing—60 per cent owned by MacLean's brother, L.J., which also publishes Maclean's—has gone through a remarkable change, Canada's Toronto-based Hollinger Inc. has extended none. Last year, the company bought 20 dailies and 50 weeklies to increase its worldwide total of publications at the end of 1988 to 156 in Quebec, among the 20 acquisitions by Pierre Paulsen's Quebec Inc., were seven weekly newspapers and two printing companies. Quebec Inc. also bought the Montreal Daily News during 1988 in partnership with French press baron Robert Morin.

**Outrigger:** Most major Canadian newspaper companies have benefited from a strong economy over the past several years. As a result, they enjoyed the highest advertising revenues among all media last year and increased profit margins in some cases exceeding 30 per cent of investment. But, despite their currently healthy balance sheets, some senior newspaper executives say they think the industry is emerging that could threaten the industry's future. For one thing, newspaper circulation has not kept pace with the growth in the number of Canadian households over the past decade. Some industry observers contend that a new generation of Canadians, raised on television and computers, has less interest in newspapers.

Despite the growth of other competing media, newspapers have remained the single largest advertising medium in both Canada and the United States. Last year, Canadian advertisers spent \$2.8 billion in newspapers, compared with \$1.8 billion in magazines and direct-mail promotions. Television ranked third with revenues of \$1.2 billion. What troubles some newspaper executives is the declining number of Canadian households that subscribe to a daily



Shooting a Sunshine girl Pélouso (below): new empires

paper. In 1979, close to 72 per cent of all households received a newspaper daily. By the end of 1988, the industry's household penetration rate had slipped to 62 per cent.

For Toronto-based Sunstar Inc., Canada's largest-circulation newspaper chain, media research is becoming an increasingly important tool for holding subscribers and for ensuring that advertisements reach readers. Sunstar, whose daily papers include The Gazette in Montreal, The Ottawa Citizen, Edmonton Journal and The Vancouver Sun, bought 60 per cent of Winnipeg-based, falling from Angus Reid and Associates for an undisclosed amount last March. Sunstar president Jim Fisher said that Reid will conduct regular surveys of Sunstar readers. The information will be used to help shape the editorial product

and help advertisers reach their audiences. For his part, David Jellie, publisher of The Toronto Star, Canada's largest daily paper, said that as well. Twitter Corp., has decided to convert after five consecutive years of closing profits. Twitter will spend \$300 million, the largest single investment ever made by the company, on a new printing plant.

Meanwhile, The Globe and Mail, which is Toronto's top media company, remains committed to being it to Canada's national newspaper, and publisher Ray Maguire. The Globe currently sells 330,000 copies a day, including 190,000 outside Ontario, but Maguire said that he hopes to have circulation of 350,000 outside Ontario within five years. Maguire said that the Globe will be moving more reporters from Toronto to other domestic bureaus to maintain the "Toronto-Central Canada perspective reflected in the paper."

**Emerging:** For emerging media, there is an important part of the future apparently lies in small American companies. Like Toronto's The Daily Reporter, and Newsworld, Ad's, which is now The Toronto Star's Ontario, a free-circulation weekly. But, in recent years, Black has also been building his global press empire. He bought the London Daily Telegraph in 1985 for \$2.1 million from the Perry family. After moving the newspaper to the radio-adjacent Docklands area of London and creating a state-of-the-art computer-processed news room, what had been a steady drop in circulation held steady at 1.1 million copies a day. In April, 1988, Black acquired 77 per cent of the influential Jerusalem Post by outbidding a group that included Maxwell and Canadian Charles Brundage.

Since the start of the year, Hargrave has bought four per cent of Britain's United Newspapers PLC, which publishes The Daily Express, a London tabloid with a circulation of 1.7 million in Canada, Hollinger owns the monthly magazine Sunday Night and the newspaper, Sterling. Newspapers Ltd. chain, including the Review Extra in Richmond, B.C., and The West of South Sea Marine, Ont. With multiple buy interests, Black would be well on his way to becoming an international media giant.



DAVID JELLIE

DAVID JELLIE

## PEOPLE

### THE FINE ART OF RUDENESS

American humorist P. J. O'Rourke provides a guide to ungracious living in his latest book, *Modern Manners: An Etiquette Book for Rude People*. The former National Lampoon editor-in-chief gives irreverent advice on everything from conversation—"Practically anything you say will seem amusing if you're on all fours"—to workplace courtesy—"Anyone who has good manners on the job probably won't have that job very long." O'Rourke, 41, says that his etiquette derives from *Buffy Post*, he wrote the book "out of rage at the way people act."

### Mum's return

The venerable *Queen's Mother* was long and dark, the women to do it, say and say. And time had been kind to both of them. When Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, arrived at Ottawa last week on her 11th visit to Canada, she arrived a bit of history. She rode in the same Canadian-made 1939 McLaughlin Buick that she had shared with her late husband, King George VI, 56 years ago on their last visit to the country. Queen is now part of the National Museum of Science and Technology's collection. Her recent royal stay was a last strenuous effort: the month-long, 34,400-km tour of 1989. But at 85, the great, long Queen Mary remained colorfully grinning. Addressing Gov. Gen. Jeanne Sauvé, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and a crowd of 3,500 on Parliament Hill on a sticky 32°C afternoon, she declared, "From the bottom of my heart, I thank the people of Canada for the opportunity of so many journeys to your land."



The Queen Mother: warm welcome

### LEAVING THE FAST LANE

Last week, one of Canada's most colorful athletes said farewell to competitive swimming—but not to the small screen. Victor Davis, 25, announced a Montreal that he's retiring from amateur sport and going into business full time. He has founded a firm that acts as a placement agency for big game and teaches pool safety to water safety. In his nine years on the Montreal team, the Guelph, Ont., swimmer was the last boy of Canadian swimming prowess to be as athletic as the maple leaf tattoo on his chest. At the 1982 Commonwealth Games in Brisbane, Australia, in the presence of Queen Elizabeth II, he overtook a chair manager when the Canadian relay team was disqualified. But at the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles, he was the gold medalist in the 100m breaststroke with a record time of two minutes, 13.34 seconds. His last swim was in 1987. Davis says that he knows that I can leave saying, "There you go guys—day to take it."

Davis: a lingering smell of chlorine



### A star of stage and greens

In two new golf videos, Toronto actor Robin McCulloch plays a caddy who gets advice on stress management from real pros. Explained McCulloch, 37: "Tension is a problem in acting and in sports." Last week, one of his video partners—U.S. pro Mick McCumber—practised what he preached and kept his cool. McCumber was a sudden-death playoff at the Western Open in Oak Brook, Ill.—and took home \$224,000.



Forecaddie under cover in Edmonton

### DEADLY INTENT

In the 1970s, she starred in an underwear—and other under-the-hood—series on the glossy tv show *Charlie's Angels*. This month, Fawcett's *Forecaddie* is back, featuring her new two-episode series, a tv miniseries in which she portrays an Oregon mother who tried to murder her children. Another change from the past: the 43-year-old actress is declining interview requests. Solid magazine producer or Marty Hillen "She doesn't want to be disturbed by anything until production is finished." Presumably, a shopping expedition to the West Edmonton Mall is one of the pleasures.

# An inflamed debate

Judgments on abortion trigger new protests

Few issues during the past two decades have so inflamed public passions, divided communities and buffeted lawmakers. And last week, abortion was once again the focus of troubling, sometimes bitter, debate in Canada and the United States. The reason: a series of narrowly split decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court upholding the constitutionality of a Missouri law that severely restricts access to the procedure. The judgment ignited angry demonstrations across the United States—and legal observers and that activist court challenges still pending might eventually curb American abortion rights even further. In Canada, while some pro-choice groups expressed dismay at the U.S. court's ruling, anti-abortionists were clearly stoked. Still, Canada's Prime Minister, Jean Chrétien, said that the U.S. decision would not affect the 1985 abortion law.

"This case is a testament to judicial thinking," Macleod says. "Meanwhile, contradictory rulings in two abortion-related cases in Toronto and Winnipeg have further embroiled the debate."

The July 5 rulings in Washington, D.C., struck at—and without fundamentally challenging—the Supreme Court's own 1973 landmark decision that it is unconstitutional to deny women and doctors access to the procedure. The July 5 decision, in the case of *Roe v. Wade*, the court upheld Missouri's right to forbid public hospitals and public employees to perform abortions. The judgment was issued by a 5-4 vote, with Chief Justice Warren Burger, who had written the 1973 decision, in the majority. The 1973 decision, known as *Roe v. Wade*, struck down a Missouri law that prohibited abortion except in cases of rape, incest, or the health of the mother. The 1973 decision was a landmark ruling in the history of the Supreme Court, which has since been asked to review the decision in several cases, including *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, *Stenberg v. Carhart*, and *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*. The 1973 decision was a landmark ruling in the history of the Supreme Court, which has since been asked to review the decision in several cases, including *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, *Stenberg v. Carhart*, and *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*.

inaction to replace the abortion section of the Criminal Code that the Supreme Court of Canada struck down in January, 1988. That action had permitted abortion in accredited hospitals supervised by a three-member therapeutic abortion committee. But the court ruled that the province was unconstitutional because it subjected women to unnecessary and arbitrary delay. Six months later, the Mulroney government used to find a basis for responsible legislation by introducing a motion at the House of Commons proposing that access to abortion be subjectively easy in the first three months of a pregnancy, but more difficult in the later stages. The motion was defeated as were two amendments—one favouring abortion on demand, the other asserting that it be illegal except when the pregnancy endangered the mother's life.

New Ottawa critics are ready to allow the provinces to decide when and how abortions can be performed. So far, Ottawa has avoided the issue, largely because, as Justice Minister Douglas Lewis told Macleod's last week, the 245-member House of Commons reflects the divisions in the country. But that year, Lewis told Macleod that he would be clear with agreement on any form of law—or one that could survive yet another court challenge. Lewis told Macleod that he would be clear with agreement on any form of law—or one that could survive yet another court challenge. Lewis told Macleod that he would be clear with agreement on any form of law—or one that could survive yet another court challenge.

The legislative options open to the government, said Lewis, included doing nothing, maintaining abortion as now performed by a qualified doctor under certain circumstances, or some other restrictive approach. But even if a new law is drafted, he added, it would be "irresponsible to suggest" that its restrictions would not apply to the last three months of pregnancy because such a limitation would likely violate the charter of rights in the constitution, said Lewis, as appears to him that the U.S. Supreme Court was "saying that women still have the right to abortion, but the states have the right to control whether public funds are used to pay for them." The question in Canada, he added,

"is whether the federal government should try to prevent a situation where there is public access to abortion across the country," said Lewis. "I think in Canada we are seeing a shift in the importance of the issue from the federal level to the provincial level."

In Toronto, a bitter legal struggle developed over an attempt by a 23-year-old woman to obtain an abortion. Mr. Justice John O'Donnell of the Ontario Superior Court issued an injunction forbidding Barron Doherty, who is 44 weeks into her pregnancy, from having an abortion anywhere in the province. O'Donnell granted the order at the request of the woman's 23-year-old former boyfriend, Gregory Murphy, who said that the couple had planned the pregnancy together. O'Donnell—who wrote an article strongly opposing abortion—gave no reasons for his decision. Meanwhile, 54-year-old Ontario Minister of Health David Johnson told reporters that he had been seeing Doherty at the same time as Murphy and that the unborn baby might be his.

Later, the Ontario Superior Court scheduled a July 80 hearing of an appeal by Doherty against O'Donnell's decision. Doherty's lawyer, Clayton Kelly, said that he would ask the court to void the injunction on the grounds that it conflicted with the Supreme Court of Canada decision voiding the abortion section of the Criminal Code.

The question of fetal rights was further muddled when Mr. Justice Anthony Macleod of the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench denied a request by Steve Dobson for an injunction ordering his former girlfriend from having an abortion. Macleod said that the 20-year-old woman, who was not identified as court,

had absolute control over her body.

Indeed, since the Supreme Court threw out the federal law 18 months ago, some provincial governments have edged into the resulting legal vacuum. In British Columbia, where 11,000 abortions annually give the highest per capita rate among the provinces—Premier William Vander Zalm's Social Credit government announced in February, 1989, that the provincial Medical Services Plan would no longer pay for the procedure. The B.C. Supreme Court then ruled against the policy. In Nova Scotia, the Canadian Alliance Party announced in August to outlaw a provincial government initiative introduced last March that bans abortion outside of hospitals—a move opposed by Dr. Henry Morgentaler's Halifax clinic, which has so far refused to refer women to institutions that carry out abortions. Morgentaler, who set up Canada's first free-standing abortion clinic at Montreal 20 years ago, successfully won the New Brunswick government to overturn the medical law, paid by women who travelled to his Montreal clinic. Concluded Lewis: "There are strong attitudes toward access to abortion at the provincial level, and

that is significant because it is the province that has been called the 'laboratory'."

Last week, Canadian reactions were divided over the U.S. Supreme Court decision. Active League national vice-president Katherine Cohen of Halifax said that she hoped the ruling would have "massive effects" on Canadian courts and legislatures. But she added that its broader implications were that "they're continuing to erode women's right to choose."

"She said, 'I think it's time to take to the streets. What will they take away next? Our right to vote? The federal government, Coffey said, should act to prevent the provinces from narrowing access to abortion. Patricia Tasson, spokeswoman for the anti-abortion group Nova Scotia United for Life, said that provincial control of abortion would "at least give people some control over what happens in their own area."

In Winnipeg, anti-abortion activist and former Manitoba cabinet minister Joseph Joseph said that his March bid to sue the province to have the Supreme Court rule that a fetus had a constitutional right to life, "that the American decision is going to affect courts and politicians around the world." He said that he

had contacted Morgentaler, telling him "to go off his butt and bring in legislation recognizing what everybody already knows—that the unborn baby is a person." If the government had not responded by the U.S. and Canada, the anti-abortion movement would begin "increasing the pressure."

Meanwhile, the reaction of Manitoba's pro-choice groups to the stand taken by the U.S. Supreme Court was more restrained than Dobson's. Frances Toffert of the Manitoba Coalition for Reproductive Choice said that the U.S. decision "will stir the anti-choice people." Federal politicians, she said, were in a "no-win situation, as why would they take on anything when they can do anything at all on these provincial controversies?" And Brian, a spokesman for the pro-life clinic in Winnipeg, said that the risk was "going up" to reverse women from Manitoba and North Dakota, where tighter abortion laws were proposed in the wake of the U.S. Supreme Court ruling.

In Vancouver, Mike Thomas, the president of the Evergreen's Health Care Society, which has been operating the province's only free-standing abortion clinic since last May 4, said that the U.S. Supreme Court was "taking away all the rights American women fought very hard for since the 1970s. We are not going to have similar action to take place in Canada." Added Thomas: "The Mulroney government will back. The U.S. decision has given them the vote that they can get out from under by passing it on to the provinces."

The Vancouver, B.C., Life Society's Green said that she believed the federal government had no intention of introducing an abortion law to replace the one the Supreme Court struck down. Ottawa, said Green, "thinks this battle can be won by not doing anything, and the private people will just get on with the business of life." She said that the primary effects of the U.S. decision is to encourage politicians "The change in judicial philosophy reflected in last week's pronouncement," she said, makes it "very obvious" that the U.S. Supreme Court is moving in the direction of erasing itself completely in the 1973 decision—known as *Roe v. Wade*—that legalized abortion.

The status of *Roe v. Wade* could be further affected by three more cases that the nine justices of the U.S. Supreme Court are scheduled to hear this term. Two involve abortion: the rights of teenagers to have abortions without their parents being involved. The third has to do with the costly abortion requirements facing clinics that perform the procedure in the first three months of a pregnancy. Legal scholars say that, in each case, the court could reach conclusions that would have the effect of turning the clock back 16 years—and turning up the heat once more on an issue that already seems to creep to be beyond solution.

RAY CORREY with LAWRENCE GRANT and JENNIFER GARET with LAWRENCE GRANT. LAMER is Ottawa, RALPH MANSOUR is Halifax and WILLIAM LUTHERY is Washington.



Pro-choice demonstrators in New York City new curbs on U.S. abortion rights



Margaret: abortion



Lewis: patchwork access



## ENVIRONMENT

## A call for action

### Criticism over Canada's use of fossil fuels

**A**s morning as host to the international conference on the atmosphere last November, Canada appeared to have emerged as a world leader in efforts to protect the livelihood of people that sustain life in Earth. At last June's federally sponsored conference in Toronto on stratospheric change, delegates from Canada and 45 other countries called on the world's industrialized nations to reduce their consumption of such lethal fuels as coal and petroleum, which produce emissions of carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>). The reason: these chemicals warm the planet, and carbon dioxide and other gases in the Earth's atmosphere—known as the greenhouse effect—have begun to raise its temperature.

New, Ottawa has come under fire from some of its own officials—and other critics—for failing to live up to the spirit of last year's conference. Henry Bengtson, adviser on climatic change at Environment Canada's Canadian Climate Centre in Toronto, for one, expressed concern that Ottawa's promotion of

petroleum megaprojects will result in more CO<sub>2</sub> being poured into the atmosphere. "It doesn't make sense for us to be telling China and Russia to cut back" on fossil fuel consumption, said Hengvold. "When we ourselves are polluting, why tell others?"

In particular, Heughebaert and others point to decisions by Prime Minister René Lévesque's Conservative government during the past year to commit more than \$5 billion in federal funds to the development of petroleum megaprojects across the country, including Newfoundland's offshore Hibernia oilfield, the Lloydminster heavy-oil upgrade on the Alberta-Saskatchewan border and the proposed new \$4-billion plant known as the Child project near Fort McMurray, Alta. In another

**Strawstock's Egg (below):** research funding is down, while cancer grows

synthetic crude oil from the province's tar sands. As well, critics charged that Ottawa's department of energy, mines and resources has severely slashed funding for research into exploiting untapped sources at a time when concern over the atmosphere is growing.

Critics said that Ottawa's support of petroleum megaprojects appeared to contradict pledges—aimed at reducing emissions that contribute to the greenhouse effect—that Energy Minister John Zipp made at a meeting of the International Energy Agency in Paris in June.

Still, Egg told Marikar's that much of Canadian society depends on fossil fuels and will have to for some time. "You cannot mobilize any one project and say that it is good or bad," said

EPA Energy Department officials have estimated that the three oil projects will create nearly 9,000 construction jobs and more than 8,700 permanent jobs.

The criticism of Ottewill's stance came as prominent scientists continued to warn that the greenhouse effect could lead to a dramatic increase in global temperatures. Some scientists say that the Earth's mean temperature is already about 5°C warmer than it was during the last ice age. They estimate that a temperature rise

half the buildup of the greenhouse gases, it could rise by another three or four degrees by the middle of the next century, burning some parts of the world's vast deserts and causing glaciers to melt. According to Rafe Pomeroy, senior associate of the Washington, D.C.-based policy research center World Resources Institute, global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions are still rising at the rate of about three per cent a year. Says Pomeroy: "That is a very worrisome and high growth rate. We are entering an era of continuously changing climate."

Others, however, disagree about whether global warming has already begun. Deryn Kop, a former governor of Washington state and a nuclear power advocate, wrote in the summer 1988 issue of *Policy Review*, the quarterly publication of the conservative Heritage Foundation, "We should remember Alvin T. Sison, who in 1958, experienced the worst cold weather in his history. Proponents of the Greenhouse Effect is here, global warming has begun!" Kop's theory was strongly cited during those weeks. Is global warming on the way? Maybe some time, but it is not here now!

Canada is not alone among industrialized nations in continuing to support the use of fossil fuels. Environment Canada officials said that none of the nations involved in last year's Toronto conference has yet enacted legislation to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by more than 20 to 25 per cent. Last month, U.S. President George Bush introduced amendments to the 1970 Clean Air Act that would require production of more than one million vehicles driven by such alternative fuels as methanol, ethanol and natural gas—which

In light of that, Hengsford said that a policy leading to increased development of synthetic silk is "heterodox."

For his part, Kirk Dawson, director general of the Canadian Climate Centre, said, "It's very clear that the energy department will have to review its energy policy options."

Since 1984, the federal government has slashed its funding for energy efficiency and alternative energy projects to \$32 million in 1990 from \$400 million in 1984. The programs affected excluded projects involving wind and solar energy, which have minimal effect on the Earth's atmosphere. The spending cuts mean that Canadians are less likely to be weaned away from their heavy reliance on fossil fuels. Indeed, Canadians on a per capita basis are the fourth-highest producers of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in the world, after East Germany, the United States and Czechoslovakia.



Mongevold: using catholics 'when we ourselves are glibious pags

Others, however, also appear to consider the plan. "I think the U.S. is a member of the 21-nation International Energy Agency this summer. According to a communiqué following the meeting, initiatives have been agreed upon to consider 'making greater use of available energy sources with lower levels of CO<sub>2</sub>' and to conduct more research into such renewable energy sources as solar, wind and hydroelectric power. The communiqué also states the members 'pledged that they will not wait for all uncertainties to be resolved, but will act now.' Gary Long argued that coming from the U.S. Energy Dept. and the U.S. State Dept., that communiqué was indicating its commitment to the environment. 'Most of those technologies are now well developed,' he said. 'How long do you keep fighting? Let's develop the next phase.'

Meanwhile, a series of international conferences planned during the next three years may result in an eventual international agreement aimed at slowing the greenhouse effect. The

44-nation U.S. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change is scheduled to finish a framework for a global treaty on the environment by 1992. Scientists say that a global agreement on carbon dioxide emissions should resemble the 1987 Montreal accord in which 24 nations agreed to reduce the production and use of the family of chemicals called chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), which have been blamed for damaging the stratospheric ozone layer that protects the Earth from the sun's ultraviolet rays.

Some prominent economists say that they are optimistic that the greenhouse effect can be halted. James Hansen, a climatologist with the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and most projections that show very large climate change by the year 2050 are based on the assumption that growth rates will continue to increase. But, as Hansen says, "I now see some hope that we won't support it. We can help greatly even if we just take the steps that would make good policy anyway, like reducing energy consumption, improving energy efficiency and reducing the rate of deforestation."

In Canada, critics are pressing Ottawa not to wait for international agreements on CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, but to act now. Charles Gerson, former environmental critic for the opposition Liberal party in Ottawa, said that the energy department's budget "is moving in the opposite direction to that which it should be if it is serious about climate warming." As well, a coalition of 26 environmental, conservation and aboriginal organizations last month presented Mulroney with a proposed agenda for action on the environment. The document

The "Greenprint" also suggested that Canada should become the first country in the world to enact a national carbon tax to raise as much as \$40 billion over 15 years. According to the document, the tax would create incentives for using nonpolluting energy sources while raising money for programs to reduce or recycle carbon emissions. David Stephens Haines, executive director of the Canadian Arctic Resource Council, who chaired the committee that drafted the report, says, "We're establishing a secretariat to monitor the government's actions and we will issue an annual report card." Clearly, the promises are astounding for Ottawa to put its environmental offices in order.

BARBARA WICKENS with DOUG MUDRA  
in *Chances* and WILLIAM DOWTNEY  
in *Nashville*



# A divisive alliance

The controversy over product endorsements

During the past two decades, Toronto-based Pollution Probe has gained public prominence by waging tough battles against companies and governments for allowing pollution of the environment. For that reason, some supporters of Pollution Probe

Foundation and the Ottawa-based environmental organization Friends of the Earth were stunned a June when the two nonprofit organizations—in return for royalty payments—publicly endorsed some firms in Loblaws International Merchant's new line of so-called Green,

or "environmentally friendly," products. The endorsements set off a controversy at Pollution Probe that last week led to, in part, the resignation of Colin Beeson, the organization's executive director for the past seven years. Beeson insisted that he saw nothing wrong with a limited alliance between his organization and the supermarket chain. "A lot of people have the perception that business is still the enemy," said Beeson, adding that in the interest to clean up the environment, "it's absolutely reasonable to mobilize all sectors of society—government, business and the public."

The controversy erupted after Pollution Probe agreed to endorse some of Loblaws' 100 new Green products, including a commercial liquid soap, an organic fertilizer, disposable diapers made without chlorine bleach and a phosphate-free detergent. Two products—an organic rose leaf and baking soda that Loblaws promotes as an alternative to household cleansers—were controversially by Friends of the Earth. In return, the organizations were to receive royalties of as much as one per cent of every item sold—a fee that Loblaws estimated could yield about \$75,000 in the next year for Pollution Probe and about \$3,000 for Friends of the Earth.

The debate among environmentalists only the controversial endorsements possible when critics claimed that one of the products included in Loblaws' Green line contained dangerous substances. Michael Mercelino, director of Toronto-based Greenpeace Canada, told reporters last week that Loblaws should remove the Green label from the fertilizer because it contained potentially toxic chemicals. Mercelino said that tests carried out by an independent Niagara Falls, N.Y., laboratory showed that the fertilizer contained high levels of extractable copper, nickel and zinc. These chemicals, including fluorides, chlorides and bromides, are found in the waste runoff from pulp and paper mills. In response, Loblaws' president David Michel said "Greenpeace has only established halides are there—that the fertilizer is potentially toxic. Greenpeace's tests prove nothing."

At the same time, the controversy focused attention on the fact that both Pollution Probe and Friends of the Earth—despite their frequent campaigns against corporate polluters—regularly accept financial contributions from corporations. In 1986, seven per cent of Pollution Probe's \$1.6-million budget and one per cent of Friends of the Earth's \$465,500 budget were from corporate contributions. Said Ken Milbyard, policy director for Friends of the Earth: "It's not like we have historically done anything but fight with industry."

Critics at Pollution Probe and Friends of the Earth said that they debated the idea of commercial endorsements but ultimately resolved it in the interest of public education. Ken Milbyard expressed concern that the plan had backfired. "An idea that has a lot of merit—consumer education—may now have been spoiled by doing it cheaply," said Milbyard. "We may have already ruined the public trust." As a result, officials at Friends of the Earth said that they were considering rescinding their deal with Loblaws.

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## TELEVISION

# Murder on the prairie

The CBC tackles the chilling Thatcher case

The scene was being filmed alongside the Moose Jaw railway yards on a sunny but unseasonably cold June day. For the fourth time in a row, a yellow Corvette raced down the wide street and did a squealing U-turn as it pulled up to the curb. A middle-aged man in a denim jacket threw open the car door and began striding

quickly toward the camera. As director Francis MacKenzie yelled "Cut!" and instructed the actor to repeat the scene, a tiny, elderly woman, looking on from the sidelines tugged at the sleeve of a child. "I just have to get a picture of Cole," she said, waving her camera. The man she was referring to was Cole Thatcher, the Saskatchewan politician who was convicted of the 1983 murder of his wife, Julia. But the man she was looking at was actor Kenneth Welsh, who portrays Thatcher in the 54-episode, nine-hour series *John and Mabel: The Story of Cole and Julia Thatcher*. The woman's reaction was typical of Saskatchewan's enduring fascination with the real-life drama and its players. Said producer Bernard Zukerman,

"It seems like everyone has had some connection to the Thatchers, and everybody has an opinion about the murder." Zukerman said, and he was invited to Cole Thatcher's 1984 trial, which led to his conviction for first-degree murder. The court was unable to connect whether he had actually killed Julia himself or hired a murderer. And when Zukerman, looking at ongoing interest in the sensational case, obtained the rights to Maggie Siegel's award-winning book about the murder, *A Canadian Tragedy*, he had no difficulty selling his proposal. "I took the CBC about 30 seconds to decide they wanted to do this," Zukerman said of the two-part, five-hour drama, scheduled to air in December. For veteran Canadian ac-

tor Welsh, the story embodies the most elemental human emotions. "It's a clash about home, money and children," said the Montreal-based film-maker, who has assembled a stellar, all-Canadian cast for the production, including Welsh, Kate Nelligan as Julia and J. B. Thompson as Thatcher's lawyer, Gerald Allbright. "We all have families

shared with her second husband, Anthony Wilson. The large, stucco dwelling was across the street from the Regina Legislative Building where Thatcher had served in the MHA for the Thatcher Creek riding since 1975, first as a Liberal, then as a Conservative. "The Thatcher family was very powerful here; everybody knew them," said George Young, who conducted a 45-minute interview with the incarcerated Thatcher that was aired on Reginald's CBC radio station in mid-May. "You could put Cole in a fortress on Baffin Island and he'd still be news."

Thatcher himself, currently serving a 25-year sentence, is often paroled in the Edmonton, where he has almost tangible presence on the film set. Local people were still buzzing about the CBC interview—in which Thatcher reiterated his innocence and called for a new trial—when the series started on June 6 for two weeks of television shooting. Later, when



Welsh (foreground); Nelligan (below) going beyond safely wife and notorious husband



the crew was preparing to film the murder scene of the Wilson house, 1st director Michelle Jolley remarked that she saw Thatcher's two sons, Greg, 24, and Regan, 20, driving past in their father's yellow Corvette (together with their 15-year-old sister, Stephanie, the boys still live in the original Thatcher house in Moose Jaw). For their part, most of the actors were clearly spooked by the environment. Said the New York City-based Nelligan, "It's creepy being in the actual spots where they lived and where Julia was killed."

Welsh, too, was affected. "After so many months of preparation," said the actor, "my heart starts to go boom when I see the highway signs here for Thatcher Drive or Thatcher Creek."

For Nelligan and Welsh, the challenge is such a grisly story was to give their characters some human dimensions beyond those of safely wife and notorious husband. Said the 46-year-old Welsh, who was both pulling and a





# Why the country is breaking up

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

The most surprising change surprise newspapermen, supposedly the most worldly types of all. The most surprising thing is, the most cautious thought made huge headlines. The newspaper before me the *Vancouver Times-Colonial*, is the oldest paper on North America's Pacific Coast, older than anything in California or elsewhere. You'd think the chaps would have developed some maturity by now. But there it is, a story spread right across the top of page 1 reverberating the astounding news that 45 per cent of Canadians are unable to locate Ottawa on a map.

So? So what else is new? The Gallup pollsters deliver this large scoop to us, as if we should be shocked, or fascinated, or worried. In a gag-ripple test, they drew an outline map of Canada, with provincial boundaries marked. Numbers were placed on the locations of 23 towns and cities across the country. The 1928 Canadian pollster were asked to locate and identify a list of 13 cities. The results indicated several had the creases of this far had couldn't find Ottawa.

I don't know where the dumb people at Gallup have been. Anyone else could have told them Ottawa doesn't exist. It is strictly a state of mind. Thompson don't think of it as an actual place like Kamloops or Chetumal or Muskoka Hot. It is simply a black hole, situated somewhere, where the varied servants live as to milk the rest of the country. It's, well, somewhere, but its exact location is immaterial, as, since it is unconnected by its stand-out so any place where real live people reside and breathe and get on with life.

The Gallup result proves that we have mistreated it all along. Everyone knows where London, or Paris or Rome and even Washington, Ottawa? Does it exist? You can't get there from anywhere and you can't get from there to anywhere. So it doesn't really matter that, for 45 per cent of Canadians, it exists around somewhere off in the road, growing ever more forgettable now that Eugene Whelan and Jack Horner have left.

The Gallup types found that one per cent of

I should not be too hard on the Gallup crew, since their meticulous information-collectors have come up with an even more revealing statistic. It seems 53 per cent of Canadians couldn't find the location of Toronto on the map. Four per cent thought it was somewhere in Western Canada, which would puzzle anyone who went through the Deyouss, not to mention those living in Tulsa, Genk, and Chateau Lake.

Thereupon I suspect this survey is accurate, after all, is that 29 per cent of Toronto residents couldn't locate their own city on the map. The figures. On any given day, if you walk down any downtown Toronto street, or enter any Toronto office building, there are some 29 per cent of the lives you encounter that are oblivious as to where they are. They are in pursuit of The Book. You can detect it on their gauges, their nostrils palpating in quest for a deal, a contract they can pull off over lunch that will ensure a \$400,000 budget for a 90-minute drive in the morning from the suburbs.

They could be in Cleveland or Dallas or Pittsburgh or Atlanta. It wouldn't make any difference. They couldn't be in San Francisco or Montreal or Vancouver or Port-au-Prince—but that's neither subject for another day. The location of their own city, in the context of Canada, doesn't matter.

It's why the country is breaking up. Toronto can connect only with its head-butt reality with Boston and the Beatles while South America and Thru and Grand Parks are trying to figure out how to get across a black hole on the map that, in reality, doesn't exist.

Quebec (buck) is going its own way as well as God made little green apples—the survey shows that the most rural citizens have the heaviest, 67 per cent from that province looking fewer than half of the cities. They can be forgiven, in a way, because of their indifference, but Ottawa cannot escape being the mass culprit. A capital that is unable to establish itself as the mouth of Canadians is as good as dead, no matter, therefore, disappear in a Gallup poll.

To be noticed, one must have a personality. It applies to cities as well as individuals. The town that has forgot can't get any personality, since the people who live there are essentially silent, revealing in their speechless, high-society-succulent insularity, and so Canadians when asked where Ottawa is actually located come up with a blank and their eyes glass over and they answer honestly to the pollster at the door.



Canadians questioned thought that the nation's capital was in northern Manitoba. I suggest they misinterpreted the survey. I think the respondents meant that it should be in northern Manitoba. Just outside Thompson would be about right. The polar bears drifting into town in winter would be the first actual contact the animal universe would have with red-blooded inhabitants of the dominion since Queen Victoria plucked it up there whenever it is that the 1,009 maygays couldn't find.

Another one per cent thought Ottawa was in Labrador, Canada, if you must know, would be better governed if Ottawa were in Labrador. As it saw it, wherever that is, it is a cross-country endline, with the highest family income in the country, a barbed-wire ramp into our country to Labrador, we would get some action, some movement, as the lacrosse and the politicians race through legislation as to get to their Caribbean vacations.

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